

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

PART FIRST

CHAPTER I

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

NO MAN of modern times is more truly a world-character than is Abraham Lincoln. Freedom-loving men and women, of all lands, and all nations, love and honor him. The reason why is plain. All peoples are moving toward democracy, and Lincoln has come to be widely recognized as the most conspicuous and truly representative prophet and standard-bearer of democracy that the modern world has produced.

More and more it is coming to be the verdict of men best qualified to judge, in all lands, that the only possible foundation for just government is "the consent of the governed." Everything indicates that civilized men

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INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

will sooner or later, but inevitably, repudiate all political authority which they themselves have not created or affirmed, and will ultimately be content with nothing short of that form of government described by Lincoln as "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Something more than half a century ago Abraham Lincoln said:—"No man is good enough to rule another man, and no nation is good enough to rule another nation. For a man to rule himself is liberty; for a nation to rule itself is liberty. But for either to rule another is tyranny. If any nation robs another nation of its freedom it does not deserve freedom for itself, and under a just God it will not long retain it." That word was spoken in America. But it applies also to every nation and every people.

Great Britain claims that she is ruling the people of India for their benefit; that it is best for them to be in subjection to a 'superior nation,' and that she is giving them all the freedom that is good for them. It is interesting to recall that in the days of American slavery slave-owners made exactly the same claim regarding those they held in bondage. In one of his famous speeches (July 1858, Chicago) Abraham Lincoln, replying to this claim, said:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

“ These are the same arguments that kings have put forth for enslaving the people in all ages of the world....Turn it whatever way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for their enslaving the men of some other race, it is the same old serpent. They all say that they bestride the necks of the people not because they want to do this but because the people are so much better off for being thus ridden. You work and I eat. You toil and I will enjoy the fruits of your toil. The arguments are the same and the bondage is the same.”

I

It may seem that many Lincolns must come and go, must prophesy and be sacrificed, before this ideal of freedom will be fully realized. For those of us, however, who love this ideal, the life of this great leader holds much of interest. It may well be an inspiration to India.

Born in Kentucky, a pioneer Southern State, and spending his youth and early manhood in Illinois a pioneer State of the new West, just in process of reclamation from the wilderness,

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Abraham Lincoln received little of that kind of education which is obtained in school houses, and none of that given by colleges and universities.

His parents were humble folk, as humble as the parents of Burns, or Luther, or Jesus. And his sympathies were always with the people from whom he sprang. Perhaps this is one of the reasons he is so widely loved. Fortunately even in his poverty he had access to a few books, some of them great books. And how much more valuable for child or man, is one great book than a whole library of insignificant and ephemeral productions such as so many of us are tempted to spend our time upon to-day! Two of the great books over which he pored in his boyhood, in the field by day and before the log fire in his cabin home at night, were the Bible and Shakespeare. These and the work he had to do—these, and the stern experiences of his early years—were his university.

Arriving at manhood, he did whatever came to hand to be done in that pioneer life. He felled the forest trees, and cleared the land and plowed it, planted and harvested crops and split rails for fences and built log cabins. He helped to build flat-boats, too, for trade purposes, and piloted them down the Sangamon river to

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

the Illinois, down the Illinois river to the Mississippi, and down the Mississippi to New Orleans. For a time he was clerk in a store. Later he was part owner of a store, but this venture was a failure and left him with a debt on his hands, through an absconding partner. He might have evaded this debt, as more than one advised him to do, but he would not. It took him fourteen years of hard work and much sacrifice to pay it, but he paid it every cent. I speak of this because it was typical of the man, and indicates why men came early to believe in him—first his neighbors and then the whole nation.

For three or four years he was postmaster in a little village. It was jokingly said of him that he was himself the post-office, and carried the mail in his hat. For a few months he was a volunteer in the Black Hawk Indian war. No actual fighting fell to his lot, but he got some valuable experiences in association with men. How he was even then beginning to be regarded by those around him is indicated by the fact that his company elected him its captain.

At the age of twenty-five, Lincoln was chosen to represent his district in the lower house of the Illinois State Legislature, where

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

he served three terms. This, too, was a valuable experience. The standing he attained in the legislature is evidenced by the fact that he was the candidate of his party for the Speakership. A little later he was elected to the National House of Representatives, in Washington. Here he showed where he stood regarding slavery, already a burning question throughout the country, by introducing into the House a bill for its abolition in the District of Columbia.

II

During these early years Lincoln studied law and obtained admission to the bar. For more than twenty-five years he carried on his profession, steadily rising in it until he occupied a foremost position in his State. It is worth while briefly to notice his qualities as a lawyer because they throw much light upon his character and go far toward accounting for his later success as a political leader.

As a legal practitioner he had three marked characteristics.

First, in all his thinking and speaking he was wonderfully clear. He gathered his facts with exactness, thought out his cases with

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

great thoroughness, and had the power to state them with remarkable simplicity. As a result, the very lucidity often carried conviction to the minds of the jury. Second, he had a fine vein of humor and was an extraordinarily good story teller, and these gifts he knew how to use with consummate skill in making his pleas. And, third, he took the highest stand regarding honesty and honor in his profession. He would stoop to no tricks. Nothing could induce him to sell his service to a man he believed to be a rogue. He would not try to clear the guilty. He would do his best to see that nobody suffered who was innocent, and if a man was guilty he would endeavor to prevent his receiving unjust punishment; but he would never employ his talents to defeat the ends of what he believed to be justice. The result was that judges and juries everywhere learned to rely upon his statements and to trust him, all of which gave him an enormous advantage.

Still further, he always discouraged litigation and advised people to settle their difficulties peaceably if possible. He indignantly repudiated the idea that honesty is not compatible with successful practice at the bar. And he proved the contrary in his own life. To a young man contemplating the legal

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

profession, he said:—"If you do not believe that you can be an honest lawyer, then resolve to be honest without being a lawyer. Choose some other occupation rather than one in the choosing of which you, in advance, confess yourself to be a knave." But he strenuously contended that lawyers need not be knaves; but may attain success—the highest success—with scrupulous integrity and honor throughout their career.

All through the years of his legal practice Lincoln did a great deal of political speaking. From the first he was popular and widely sought for. His characteristics as a speaker were much the same that marked him as a lawyer, namely—absolute candor and fairness; wonderfully clear thinking which went straight as an arrow to the heart of every question under discussion; ability to state his thought with a simplicity and lucidity that compelled the dullest mind to understand, and at the same time a force of statement and delivery that carried everything before it. His great heart and his great sympathy with the people, too, were important elements in his popular power. And his stories and his humor were as effective here as in the court-room.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

III

He was particularly effective in political debates, and these became increasingly popular. There were a number of men of marked ability in the State at that time, some of them of national fame. Perhaps the most conspicuous of these was Stephen A. Douglass, who for years represented Illinois in the United States Senate and became an acknowledged leader in that body. The most famous of Lincoln's debates was with Douglass, in 1858. Each debater was a foeman worthy of the other's steel. The two men met for joint discussion in seven of the most important political centres of the State, the question at issue being the one then agitating the whole country—Ought slavery to be extended into the new territories? It is doubtful if abler political speaking was ever heard in America, or on a theme more exciting or felt to be more vital to the nation's existence. It not only drew great crowds and deeply stirred the whole State, but it also attracted attention all over the nation. From that time on, Lincoln was a national character. Men began to predict for him the highest things, and to mention his name in connection with the Presidency. Two years later, in

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

1860, he was nominated for this office, the highest within the gift of the people, and was elected by a very decisive majority.

The time was one of crisis—of tremendous national crisis over the subject of slavery. The Southern States of the nation had long held negro slaves, had found slavery financially profitable, and had defended it as right, indeed as a divine institution supported by the Bible. On the other hand, in the Northern States there was no slavery, although formerly there had been. While the country was a group of colonies under British Rule, before their separation from the mother nation, slavery was practically universal. But gradually there had arisen a public sentiment against it, as inhuman and wrong. By the time of the Declaration of Independence most of the colonies in the North had freed their slaves, and it was a question warmly debated when the new Nation was founded and a National Constitution was adopted, whether slavery should or should not be everywhere prohibited. But slavery still existed in the South and was popular there; and so it was left undisturbed.

This was a mistake. It planted a seed of contention, of antagonism, in the very heart of the Nation. Conscientious men and women,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

especially in the North, more and more asked the questions: Was it right for the Southern States to continue to hold human beings in bondage? When slaves escaped, as many did, from the South into the free states of the North, was it right for the northern authorities to give them up and allow them to be forcibly taken back into slavery? Was it right to allow slavery to be introduced into the new territories of the West, which were being settled and admitted into the National Union as new States? These were questions that could not be silenced. As a result, the two sections of the country became growingly distrustful of one another and to an extent hostile, and there began to be a talk in some of the Southern States of separation, of secession from the Union, so that they might be free to retain their "sacred institution."

For many years before the election of Lincoln to the Presidency, there had been a strong Anti-Slavery Party in the North. Although he was not himself directly connected with it, yet he was strongly in sympathy with its general principles, and hence his election was regarded as an anti-slavery victory. Indeed, the leading issue of the election campaign (and it was a very burning issue) was the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

question of whether slavery should be allowed in the new territories. On this question Lincoln said no, with a voice the most eloquent and convincing of any man in the Nation. As a consequence of his election there was tremendous excitement all over the South, and threats of secession multiplied fast. Of course, if these threats were carried out, such an action on the part of the South would mean war; all understood that. With all his soul Lincoln hated war. If any human being could have prevented that four years of bloodshed that followed, it seemed indeed that he was the man. But party feeling ran so high, the relations between North and South had become so greatly strained, that even Lincoln's offer that the Government should buy the freedom of every slave could not avert the crisis.

The South would not brook any interference with slavery, and would not be reconciled. It raised an army, captured a government fort and began military operations in several quarters. A number of States formally withdrew from the Federal Union and set up a government of their own. Thus an armed conflict was begun.

At the beginning of the second year of the war, Lincoln issued the proclamation of

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

emancipation of every slave in the land. Taking the initiative in this way, he disconcerted and discouraged the South, united the factions in the North, and opened an important new source of recruits for the Northern army through the enlistment of negro troops.

Toward the close of the war came the second candidacy of Lincoln for the Presidency with a tremendous effort made by the combined forces of disloyalty and timidity to defeat him on the ground that the war was a failure and should be stopped at once, and that the independence of the seceding States should be recognized. But the great heart of the North was true to the National Union and to the cause of freedom for the slave. Lincoln was triumphantly re-elected. And from this time on hope sprang up in every heart. Victories in the field multiplied. It was evident that the end of the terrible war could not be far off.

When at last peace was declared, the word rang across the land like a message from heaven, and there was rejoicing as if the whole nation had been released from prison. Thanksgiving rose to God from millions of hearts for the unspeakable blessing of peace,—peace with the Nation one and undivided, and free forever from the terrible curse of human slavery.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

But alas ! In an hour, in a moment, all was changed ! Noon became midnight. The sun seemed turned to darkness in the mid-heavens. Lincoln was dead, assassinated ! One can hardly imagine the shock, the grief that fell upon the Nation's heart.

Walt Whitman has described that black moment, likening the Nation to a ship, with Lincoln as her captain ; this ship has had a voyage of terrible storms and dangers, but at last all are surmounted and she has reached port in safety, and there is joy in every heart. But stop ! Suddenly, amid the rejoicing, the cry is raised from white lips—"Where is he, the stout heart, the Captain, to whose courage the success of the voyage is due ?"

"O Captain ! My Captain ! Our fearful trip is done,

The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won ;

The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,

While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring ;

But O heart ! heart ! heart !

The bleeding drops of red,

Where on the deck my Captain lies

Fallen cold and dead !

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

O Captain! My Captain! Rise up and hear the bells;

Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle thrills.

For you bouquets and ribbon'd wreaths—for you the shores a-crowding,

For you they call—the swaying mass, their eager faces turning;

Here Captain! dear father!

This arm beneath your head!

It is some dream that on the deck

You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and still;

My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor will.

The ship is anchored safe and sound, its voyage closed and done,

From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with object won.

Exult, O shores, and ring, O bells!

But I with mournful tread

Walk the deck where my Captain lies,

Fallen cold and dead!"

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

IV

The country's shock and grief was not merely because a President had been taken away ; but because the man struck down was one whom a whole nation had learned to love and trust, whom everyone had come to regard as above all others the Nation's savior. Nor was the mourning confined to the North. Throughout the long and terrible experiences of the war evidence had come in a thousand ways to the people of the South that the great heart at the head of the Nation in Washington cared equally for them and that he saved them suffering in every way in his power, and was their truest friend. And so from many eyes in the South as well as in the North, sincere tears fell over this loss that the whole land had suffered.

As we look back upon events now, it is hard to tell whether the death of Lincoln at that time was not an even greater calamity to the South than to the North. In the long and difficult task of reconstruction in the South, of helping the States so sadly devastated by war to rebuild their homes, to re-establish their industries, to recover from the awful losses

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

which they had suffered, and to take their places once more as integral parts of the Nation—in all this work no one would have been so wise, so just, so large-minded, so considerate, of the needs and the feelings of the Southern people, as would Lincoln if only he had been spared. How many injustices he would have prevented, how many wounds he would have healed!

And besides this, no one else would have so wisely befriended and helped the newly freed negroes as would the man who freed them. It is not strange therefore, that the negroes felt his loss to be an irreparable one, and mourned him with a sorrow that words could not express.

Though the Southern States fought to retain slavery and gave it up only when forced to do so by the bitter arbitrament of the sword, yet what they then felt to be so terrible a loss turned out to be really a great gain, an unspeakable good. Nearly all white people in the South now see this, and frankly admit it. If the opportunity were offered them to restore slavery, they would not do it. Thus out of their very defeat there came a blessing—of a kind that they could not then foresee, and greater than they even yet fully under-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

stand, a blessing not only to them, but to their children, and their children's children.

"God's ways seem dark but soon or late
They touch the shining hills of day."

V

And if the abolition of slavery was a benefit to the white population, it was, of course, of still greater benefit to the colored. It changed their whole status. From being mere chattels, things bought and sold, it made them human beings, opening to them for the first time the possibility of becoming fully developed men and women. When first liberated, they were, of course, scarcely wiser or more capable of self-direction than children. Slavery had kept them irresponsible, and would have continued to arrest their development. The white citizens, who were stronger and wiser than they because of the superior advantages they had so long enjoyed, ought to have taken them by the hand as soon as the war was over, and should have helped them in every way until they became able to stand on their own feet and direct their own lives. A few did this, but with the majority there was much bitter feeling against these poor men and women who had already been so grievously

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

sinned against in their long bondage, and there was much friction instead of friendliness.

And yet, with even so little assistance as they have received, what wonderful advance these slaves of yesterday have already made! Instead of being disappointed that they have not accomplished more, when we look at the facts before us we may well be amazed that they have achieved so much. Tens of thousands of men and women in adult life taught themselves to read and write. All over the land, their children are in school. Everywhere they are proving themselves to be increasingly industrious, careful for the future, and as a result everywhere they are becoming owners of property, of homes, of workshops, farms, mills, stores, industries of various kinds, and even of banks. A wonderful work has been done for the colored people through their own leaders such as Booker Washington, and through such schools of their own as the Tuskegee Institute—schools that are training thousands of young men and women to go out through all parts of the South to teach others of their race, not only to read and write, but equally to work with their hands, to be shoemakers and blacksmiths, to carry on farming and market-gardening in improved ways, to spin and weave

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

and sew and cook and care properly for their homes and their children. If Abraham Lincoln were alive to-day and could see all this, how profoundly he would rejoice !

Speaking at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, Dr. Robert P. Moton, who is now President of Tuskegee Institute and has in many other ways taken Booker Washington's place as a leader of his people, said, as representative of the colored citizens of America: "In all this vast assemblage there can be none more grateful to Abraham Lincoln than are the twelve million black Americans who devoutly honor him as the author of their freedom. There is no question that Abraham Lincoln died to save the Union; but he also died to free the slaves of America. Some may ask—Has his sacrifice been justified? Has his martyrdom brought forth any worthy fruits? I speak for the Negro race when I say that my people love their country and have endeavoured to serve it in peace as faithfully as in war. In spite of the many difficulties under which they have labored, in spite of many limitations within and restrictions without, they have been one of the country's greatest assets in developing its resources of nearly every kind. The

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

industry, integrity and thrift of the Negro people have, in the comparatively short space of sixty years of freedom, acquired the ownership of more than 22,000,000 acres of land, 600,000 homes, and 45,000 churches. Negroes also own 68 banks, 100 insurance companies and 50,000 business enterprises, with a capital of more than \$ 150,000,000. Besides all this there are within the race in this country 60,000 professional men, 44,000 school teachers and some four hundred newspapers and magazines. The general illiteracy of the Negro people has been reduced to about twenty per cent. And still my people are, I believe, only at the threshold of their true development; so that if anything on earth could justify the sacrifice of so great a man as Lincoln, it is this, that a race possessing such capacity for advancement, has taken fullest advantage of its freedom to develop its latent powers. Surely, a race that has produced a Frederick Douglas in the midst of slavery, and a Booker Washington in the aftermath of reconstruction, has justified its emancipation."

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

VI

Adequately to understand Lincoln's high character and his service to the world as well as to his own country, we must consider a few other aspects and qualities, besides those that made it possible for him to take the leadership in the time of struggle for freedom of the Negro. He believed in liberty for all men ; he watched with eager sympathy the struggle in his time for popular government in Hungary, Poland, and other countries ; his interest was on the side of the oppressed everywhere. If he were alive to-day I believe no man would be more profoundly interested than he in India's just struggle for freedom and nationhood.

He would also be earnestly in sympathy with India in her heroic efforts to free herself from the curse of intoxicating liquors and opium. Throughout his life, Lincoln was an ardent supporter of the cause of temperance. He saw in the habit of drink a slavery almost as terrible as the chattel-slavery of the Negroes, and he was consistent and courageous enough to make himself equally the opponent of both. In public life as well as in private, even when he was at the head of the nation, he never touched any kind of intoxicating drink. Thus

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

by his example and in every other way that he could, he threw his influence against this terrible evil which destroys so many lives. On the very day of his assassination, Lincoln, in conversation with a life-long friend, said:—"Our next great work, with the help of the whole country, will be the overthrow of the legalized liquor traffic. My heart, my mind, my hand and my purse will go into that work. In 1842, less than a quarter of a century ago, you remember I predicted that there would come a day when there would be neither a slave nor a drunkard in all this land. I have lived to see one prediction fulfilled. I hope it will not be long before the other is realized."

VII

Abraham Lincoln was a deeply religious man, though not in the usually accepted sense of that term. He cared little for forms and ceremonies, and nothing at all for the current creeds. But for the deep things of religion—justice, mercy, truth and love, and the sincere worship of the heart, for these he cared profoundly. His faith may perhaps be best described as Liberal Christianity. The religious writer whose works he read with most interest

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

and agreement was the great Unitarian preacher, Theodore Parker, from whom he borrowed that felicitous phrase which he afterwards made immortal—"Government of the people, for the people, by the people."

It was no accident that Lincoln was a liberal in religion. He recognised that a man cannot consistently believe in political freedom without believing in all kinds of freedom, in every department of human life. A democratic State implies a State of free souls, and free souls must always elevate reason and conscience (God's voice within) to an authority above all external and material things, whether creeds or ecclesiastical decrees or sacred books or traditions. During the time of his presidency, Lincoln said of himself: "I have never united myself with any church because I have found difficulty in giving my assent without much mental reservation, to the long, complicated statements of Christian doctrine which characterize the usual confessions of faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar as its sole qualification for membership, the teaching of Jesus in which he summed up all religion—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church I will

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

join with all my heart and with all my soul." As a matter of fact, he belonged to the greatest and best of all churches, the unseen church of the Spirit, wider than any creed or ecclesiastical organization, of which it has been written:—

"Her priests are all God's faithful sons,
To serve the world raised up;
The pure in heart her baptized ones,
Love her communion cup.
The truth is her prophetic gift,
The soul her sacred page;
And feet on mercy's errands swift
Do make her pilgrimage."

VIII

Lincoln is often spoken of as a teller of stories, chiefly humorous stories. This is true. But his humor was never of a trivial character. Humor was his relaxation. And with all his seriousness, he knew the great value of relaxation. Without this ability, this means of relief, the tremendous load of care and responsibility that he carried, especially throughout the war, would have crushed him. Except for his ability to turn aside occasionally from the strain of the affairs of State, on which hung so many lives and the fate of his country, he would doubtless have succumbed mentally as

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

well as physically to the burdens of that terrible time.

Perhaps it may prove of interest if I note the fact, gradually becoming more widely known, that Lincoln was a great master in the use of the English language, really a great literary artist, the possessor of a style in speech and writing that ranks with the best in our language. This is the more remarkable considering the fact of his origin and lack of schooling.

Edwin Markham, himself a man of the soil, a blacksmith by trade in his early years, but now ranking among our most virile poets, has written of Lincoln :

“ The color of the ground was in him, the red
earth,
The tang and odor of the primal things ;
The rectitude and patience of the rocks ;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn ;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea ;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars ;
The loving kindness of the wayside wall ;
The tolerance and equity of light,
Giving as freely to the shrinking weed
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky.....

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

And so he came.

From prairie cabin up to Capitol,
One fair ideal led our chieftain on.
Forever more he burned to do his deed,
With the fine stroke and gesture of a king.
He built the rail-pile as he built the State,
Pouring his splendid strength through every
blow,

The conscience of him testing every stroke,
To make his deed the measure of a man.
So came the Captain with the mighty heart;
And when the step of earthquake shook the
house,

Wresting the rafters from their ancient hold,
He held the ridgepole up and spiked again
The framework of the Home. He held his
place—

Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
Held on through blame and faltered not at
praise.

And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a kingly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.”

Lincoln was a great president because he was called to lead his nation at a time of great issues, was given a greater task than was ever required of any other American president (with

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

the possible exception of Wilson) and brought to his task a wisdom of experience, a seasoned judgment, a largeness of view and depth of insight, a patience and sympathy with all classes and kinds of people, a personality to control men and their actions, which are, I think, unsurpassed in American history.

What an asset do the people of America possess, what an asset does humanity as a whole possess, what an asset do the people of India possess, in the teachings and the example of this great democrat, this mighty lover of freedom and humanity, this man of the people, who lived so near to the people, believed in them, loved them, trusted them, who drew his highest inspiration from the people, whose loftiest ambition was to serve the people, and who lived and died that "government of the people, for the people, and by the people might not perish from the earth!"

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

IT is inspiring to see, standing at the head of every issue of one of the most prominent periodicals of India, the following words of Garrison:

"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

This historic utterance of the great American Liberator may well be taken as a motto by the people of India in their great and just struggle for national freedom.

William Lloyd Garrison was born in 1804 in Massachusetts, a State (in the northern part of the American Union) which had already abolished slavery. Before he was twenty years old he had entered upon his anti-slavery work, which covered more than forty years—until, indeed, the need for it ceased with the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln in 1863. Certainly if ever there was a complete life, it was Garrison's. One may search history

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

through without finding another man upon whom was laid so arduous a task, undertaken so early, pursued so inflexibly, and amid such crowding and seemingly insurmountable difficulties, and yet who triumphed so truly at last.

Never did soldier set out upon a campaign that appeared more hopeless than seemed the anti-slavery cause in America when Garrison enlisted in it. Never were invincible courage, unyielding perseverance, tireless toil, more splendidly successful at last.

In almost every aspect of Mr. Garrison's career, it is worthy of study not only by his own countrymen but by all who battle for human freedom and human progress the world over.

I

His parents were poor and throughout his youth he experienced many hardships. At ten, he was apprenticed to a shoe-maker. Not liking this kind of work, three years later he was apprenticed to a cabinet maker. But this also failed to engage his interest, and when he was about eighteen he secured employment in a printing office. This work proved more congenial. Though his education was very limited, he had, by diligence and economy of

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

his time, contrived to read many of the best books, and had made himself familiar with the outstanding characters and events of history.

He soon began to contribute articles of his own to the paper whose type he was setting, without, however, disclosing their authorship; but these met with such public favor as to suggest that his life-work had been found at last.

Garrison had somewhat brief connections with several different papers, first as contributor and later as editor. His first editorial was a characteristic Garrison challenge, announcing that his paper would be entirely independent in the most thorough and comprehensive sense of that word; that it would be trammelled by no special interest, biased by no sect or faction, awed by no power. He announced that he had three main objects in view—"the suppression of intemperance and its associate vices, the emancipation of every slave in the Republic, and the perpetuity of national peace," and to these ends he would devote his life, wherever he might be.

His real anti-slavery work began, however, with his going to Baltimore, one of the large cities of the South, as assistant editor of a paper published by Benjamin Lundy, a writer

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

and lecturer who had for years labored with great energy and devotion to influence public sentiment. The title of this paper was "The Genius of Universal Emancipation."

In this new field Garrison, whose life until then had been spent in the non-slave holding North, was at once brought into close personal contact with the slavery of the South in many of its most revolting aspects. The inter-state slave trade, of which Baltimore was an important centre, particularly shocked him, and an incident in connection with this called out his sternest rebuke. The captain of a vessel (which, Garrison was appalled to learn, was owned by a Massachusetts man) took a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans—a city still further South and a great slave market. This was a common occurrence in the traffic between these two cities, but it was the first time that Garrison had witnessed such a thing, and it burned itself into his consciousness. His subsequent editorial denunciation was so severe, that both a criminal and a civil suit were brought against him. Tried in a pro-slavery city, by a pro-slavery judge and jury, conviction was a foregone conclusion. He was fined, also sentenced to imprisonment. But that a man should be condemned and punished

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

for merely expressing an opinion, for simply speaking on behalf of freedom and against oppression, aroused widespread feeling and protest throughout the country, and considerable sympathy for Garrison was expressed. He went to prison but remained there only forty-nine days, Arthur Tappan, a wealthy New York merchant and philanthropist, volunteering to pay the fine.

This experience confirmed Garrison in his determination to give his life, with every energy of body and mind, to the work of wiping the stain of slavery from every State in the Union. One of his biographers writes:—"This young Knight of Freedom, in all the fervor of ingenuous youth, with his Bible open before him, solemnly consecrated himself to the task of delivering the slaves from their bondage and his country from her greatest crime and curse. And the consciousness of a purpose so high, undertaken in humble dependence upon God, and from an intense sympathy with an oppressed and outlawed race, gave him something of the majesty of a prophet, which men of kindred spirit were quick to discern and could never forget."

Even from his cell in the Baltimore jail he sent a letter arraigning both the arbitrary

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

conduct of the Court, and the Law as well. "Is it," he asked. "supposed by Judge Brice" (the judge who sentenced him) "that his frowns can intimidate me or his sentence stifle my voice on the subject of oppression? He does not know me. So long as good Providence gives me strength and intellect I will not cease to declare that the existence of slavery in this country is a foul reproach to the American name; nor will I hesitate to proclaim the guilt of kidnappers, slavery-abettors and slave-owners wherever they may reside or however high they may be exalted. I am only in the alphabet of my task. Time shall perfect a useful work. It is my shame that I have done so little for the people of color; yea, before God I feel humbled that my feelings are so cold and my language so weak. A free white victim must be sacrificed to open the eyes of the nation and to show the tyranny of our laws. I expect, and am willing, to be persecuted, imprisoned, and bound, for advocating the rights of my colored countrymen; and I should deserve to be a slave myself if I shrank from that danger."

This was the spirit in which William Lloyd Garrison began his forty years of toil in the anti-slavery cause. This was the spirit of that

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

whole devoted band of anti-slavery men and women who, as the years went on, gathered to his support. Such a spirit, with right and justice on its side, could not fail to triumph in the end, even though all of earth and hell were opposed.

II

Surprise has sometimes been expressed that so late as the middle of the nineteenth century, any civilized and enlightened people—as Americans claimed to be—should have sought to retain so iniquitous an institution as that of human slavery. But it is not what we claim to be, but what we are, in essence and in fibre, that always asserts itself when our material interests are threatened. In the practical lives of the majority of humanity, tradition, habit, custom, are always more potent factors than intelligent consideration, thought, opinions based on first-hand knowledge.

As a matter of fact, human bondage, slavery in some form, is as old as history and as widespread as the world itself. The culture of ancient Greece and Rome and other countries was based on the assumption that slavery was right and good. This, however, was not in

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

harmony with the feeling and teaching of the very best and highest minds in the world even in ancient times. Certainly it was not in harmony with the teachings of Buddha in India or Jesus in Palestine. Buddha taught human brotherhood, which is utterly incompatible with slavery in any form or withholding any class of human beings in any kind of degradation. Jesus also taught human brotherhood. He said "The Kingdom of heaven is in all"; "The last shall be first"; "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty"; "the greatest among you is he who serves". But in the time of Garrison many Americans, calling themselves Christians, strangely forgot these teachings. They opposed and tried to silence the man who preached these things, and who declared them to be as true to-day as they were nineteen centuries ago, and as important in America as in Palestine. In their actions they betrayed the life and teachings of Him whose name they bore,—just as so many Christians in many other lands and ages have done.

Organized Christianity, as such, has not yet accomplished much toward the abolition of human bondage in the world, whether political bondage, social bondage, industrial

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

bondage, or intellectual and spiritual bondage. The same is true of most other established religions. This is all wrong. Religion ought to be a great liberator; not an enslaver. It ought to be in sympathy with freedom, with enlightenment, with progress,—not a hinderer of the world's advance. The world must have better religions. Not only Christianity but every religion must be reformed and purified; all must be purged of their tyrannical and oppressive teachings, their superstitions, their outgrown elements, their lifeless forms, their low conceptions of God and their imperfect morality. These things must be put away as things of the past; as things of childhood, which manhood and womanhood must leave behind. Christianity and all other religions must keep the best that is in them, and only the best. They must build on the teachings of their highest and noblest prophets, and gurus. Then Christianity and all other religious faiths will no longer be, as they are now, partly blessings to humanity and partly curses, partly helps to the world's higher life and partly a hindrance; but then they will be wholly good, wholly allies of progress, wholly morally uplifting powers among men.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

3. One wonders that an institution so cruel and so evil as human slavery has been allowed to continue in the world so long. In its worst forms it seems to have persisted longer in Europe and America than among the leading nations of Asia. During what are known as the Middle Ages in Europe, chattel-slavery passed into the modified form of serfdom, which persisted in France until the Revolution of 1789; in Germany until well into the 19th century; and in Russia until about 1860.

Perhaps it may be of interest just here to note that Negro slavery was introduced into America by the Spanish and Portuguese, the discoverers and first exploiters of the country, whose supreme desire was to obtain wealth. At first they compelled the native Americans (the "Red men") to work in the mines, but they died in such great numbers under the hardships and cruelties inflicted on them by their European masters, that their employment proved neither practicable nor profitable. It was then that the hardier natives of Africa were imported and what is known as the slave-trade began—that is, the forcible capture and transportation of Africans to America—a terrible traffic in which England and other European countries joined and which

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

continued on down to and into the nineteenth century.

In practically all of the thirteen colonies which revolted against Great Britain in 1776 (and later formed the United States) slavery existed and was legally recognised. There was, however, even then some opposition to its spread, and George Washington, in his will, ordered the emancipation of all slaves who belonged to him. Nearly all the other revolutionary leaders — Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry—looked upon slavery as an evil and desired its abolition. In the convention which drafted the Constitution for the new nation, the sentiment was strongly against it, and but for the opposition of two of the Southern States (South Carolina and Georgia) it would probably have been done away with at that time.

Gradually it was found in the Northern States, with their long, hard winters, that African labor was not profitable; the negro thrived only in a warm climate. For this and other reasons slavery was given up in these States. In the Southern States, however, it continued; and even in the North there were individual men who continued to own slave-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

trading vessels on the sea, and shares in slave-worked plantations in the South.

III

Garrison did not remain long in Baltimore. His views and those of Benjamin Lundy were not quite in harmony, and he became convinced that he could do better work if he had a paper of his own. In August 1830, when he was twenty-six years of age, he issued proposals for the publication of a journal in the city of Washington (the national capital) to be called *The Liberator*. To raise money for this purpose, he made a lecture tour through the principal cities of the North, during which he gradually became convinced that a Northern rather than a Southern city was the proper place for his venture. The mass of the people in the North were better educated and more intelligent than the majority in the South; free discussion would find a better soil in the North where new ideas were more hospitably received; at that time Boston was regarded as the literary centre of the country, whence new ideas could more readily be disseminated.

So Garrison determined at whatever hazard, to raise the standard of freedom there within sight of Bunker Hill and in the very

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

birth-place of American liberty. He began the publication of *The Liberator* without a single subscriber. Says one of his early co-workers:—"For a year and a half he and his partner Isaac Knapp, were compelled by their poverty to sleep at night on the floor of their printing-office (which Harrison Gray Otis, then mayor of Boston, in a letter to the mayor of a Southern city, called 'an obscure hole') and to subsist on bread and milk, cakes and fruit, obtained from a neighbouring shop. Many times did I see Mr. Garrison and his partner busy at type-setting or in working off their paper on a hand-press, a negro boy their only visible auxiliary. But they never complained nor were they for a moment discouraged."

One of our poets* has described the situation in very graphic language:—

"It is late in the evening.

In a dingy little attic room by the feeble light of a lamp a young workman of resolute and engaging countenance is setting up type for the first number of his journal.

An old-fashioned hand-press stands beside him; the floor is bespattered with printer's ink.

The type is second-hand and worn; the paper was bought on credit; the rent is unpaid; the

* Ernest Crosby.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

youthful editor has neither money nor influence nor friends, nor as yet a single subscriber.

At his elbow his supper awaits him—a loaf of bread and a glass of milk, the only food he can afford to buy.

When he has finished his day's work he will sleep there on the floor in the corner.

The world outside is thinking of Presidents and Senates and Elections.

Lost on false trails, it reckes not that in that humble chamber is being enacted much of the contemporary history of mankind.

It has still to learn that it must look in lowly mangers for the promise of the new day.

The young printer smiles confidently as he goes on with his work.

Here are the words which he is forming at the case :—

'The standard of emancipation is now unfurled.

Let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice.

I am in earnest.

I will not equivocate.

I will not excuse.

I will not retreat a single inch.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

And I will be heard.

Posterity will bear testimony that I was right.
For thirty long years he bears this standard
aloft.

Mobbed by the people, imprisoned by the State,
cast out by the churches ;

Dogged by kidnappers and assassins, a price set
upon his head, despised, hated and reviled ;

The wealth, learning and religion of the land
especially bitter against him ;

He presses onward unmoved.

Scorning all compromise, deaf to every sugges-
tion of extenuation, he lifts his voice like
thunder above all other sounds,

Blasting forever the man-stealer and his abettors.

And at last, as he foresaw from the first even in
his loneliness and want—victory, complete
victory is his.

In Garrison the truth conquered, the simple
truth that 'Man cannot own his fellow.' ”

IV

It is difficult for some of us to-day to
conceive the opposition that confronted Garri-
son and his work. In such a cause one would
suppose that at least the churches, the clergy
and the religious leaders of the community

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

would, because of their Christian profession, have taken his part and supported his efforts. Here and there some did come earnestly to his assistance and defence, but these were a small minority. As a whole, the clergy turned a cold shoulder toward him, the churches closed their doors upon his desire to lecture on behalf of emancipation, and the religious press of the country for the most part united in an effort to suppress his message. Long afterwards, in referring to this time, Wendell Phillips said:—"I know and you know—you older men who can recall those days—that when one brave preacher in a Boston pulpit uttered a few strong anti-slavery words, his venerable father was accosted the next morning by a solicitous friend:—'Colonel, you have my sympathy. I cannot tell you how much I pity you.' 'What,' said the brusque old man, 'What is the reason for your pity?' 'Well, I hear your son went crazy at King's Chapel yesterday,' was the reply. Such was the state of public sentiment that insanity was the only excuse that kind-hearted friends could make for such a 'madman.'"

Writes one of the historians of that time:—"Ecclesiastical authority, political power and social influence all frowned on the young leader

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

of abolition ; all united to surround his horizon and overspread his sky with a cloud black as night, a cloud from which thundered and lightened a malignity and hate of which men of to-day can scarcely conceive. But on the very blackness of that cloud William Lloyd Garrison wrote in letters of fire his immortal words:—*I will be heard.*

And he was heard. Boston heard him. The whole United States heard him. In a few years Boston became the center of a mighty anti-slavery movement that was felt throughout the country.

We shall not understand nor adequately appreciate Garrison if we do not bear in mind the personal danger which constantly menaced him, and the sublime serenity and unflinching courage with which he went through it all, turning aside not a hair's breadth from what he believed to be the right, conceding nothing to conciliate his foes, leaving no word unsaid which truth demanded should be spoken. Though in parts of the South, State laws made it a crime to circulate *The Liberator*, or even receive it from the post-office, and the legislature of Georgia passed an Act offering a reward of \$ 5,000 for the arrest and conviction of its editor, the little printing-press in the Boston

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

attic went steadily on. Garrison's friends were in constant anxiety because of the flood of anonymous letters from the South that came to him threatening him with violence and death. But he steadily refused their advice to carry any weapon for his defence.

Again and again meetings where he was among the speakers were mobbed and broken up. At a meeting of the Boston Anti-slavery Society in 1835, he was dragged through the streets with a rope around his neck, and finally locked in jail to protect him from the fury of the crowd. And it should be distinctly noted that the mob of men who were responsible for this outrage, personally taking part in this brutality, were among the most influential and 'respectable' of the people of Boston. Garrison had done nothing except rebuke human oppression. The preachers of that time who preached "brotherhood" in the abstract every Sunday, orators who indulged in aimless generalities about "Constitutional guarantees of free and equal rights" were never mobbed. It was because Garrison dared to make a present-day, definite application of these truths, that even the "cultured" and "religious" turned upon him like savages. Garrison himself wrote on the walls of the jail where he was confined

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

"William Lloyd Garrison was put in this cell Monday afternoon, Oct. 21, 1835, to protect him from the fury of a respectable and influential mob who sought to destroy him for preaching the doctrine that all men are created equal and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God."

Those were indeed times that tried men's souls. Only men with wills of iron and with a mighty faith in the justice of their cause could have endured all that Garrison and his colleagues endured.

V

Garrison was a thorough pacifist. He did not believe in war for any purpose, under any circumstances. He did not believe that the cause of right and justice could ever be advanced by violence and bloodshed. But he fought courageously and unflinchingly with the weapons of reason and moral appeal. He was of the same spirit as Mahatma Gandhi who says: "We must have no bloodshed. We have a right to our liberty; it is dearer to us than life. We will win it or we will die. But we will do no wrong. We will not kill, we will not harm our oppressors, we will not even hate them. But we will not co-operate with

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

them in any way in their work of tyranny and wrong, in their work of carrying on an unjust Government in this country which does not belong to them. Time will compel them to give us our rights and our freedom. Non-violence on our part does not mean weak submission to the will of the evil-doer. It means putting one's whole soul against the will of the unjust tyrant. Working under this law it is possible for a single individual to defy the might of an unjust empire."

VI

Of course, there had been anti-slavery sentiment in the country, even in the South, before Garrison and Lundy started their crusade. Early in the nineteenth century, a large number of Quakers had become convinced that the possession of slaves was incompatible with their religion, and had freed all their negroes, giving them enough land to support themselves, or employing them at a wage. But such efforts were sporadic, and as the South grew in extent and her wealth increased through the slave-labour on her plantations, the general feeling of hostility toward suggestions of the loss of this source of power, rapidly increased. Also, Northern seaboard cities

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

were largely dependent on Southern trade for their commercial prosperity, and in their own interests resented anything that might alienate Southern co-operation. Economic interests had gradually asserted themselves as the dominant factor in the situation, and anti-slavery sentiment seemed to wilt and disappear before this aggressive power.

About the time that Garrison began his work, there was a movement on foot called the "Colonization Scheme." The object of this was the transportation of negroes, including all emancipated slaves, to a tract of territory purchased in Africa for their settlement. This scheme was approved by some of the Southern slave-owners and many philanthropic people in the North regarded it as a sort of mild, inoffensive movement toward general emancipation. But Garrison soon saw that its real tendency was rather to support the institution of chattel-slavery, for by means of this scheme persons or classes that slave-holders found disadvantageous or unprofitable could be shipped overseas under this cover of philanthropic intent, thus leaving the slave-holders unhampered in their authority over negro lives, and secure and unquestioned in their power over the race as a whole. In 1863 the New England Anti-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

slavery Society sent Garrison to England to put this aspect of the matter before those who were backing this "colonization" idea in that country. As a result of his efforts many of the leaders in English anti-slavery work—including such men as Wilberforce, Macaulay and Buxton—issued a definite protest against the methods of the Colonization Society. Some seven years before this time the American, Daniel Webster, had said:—"I will have nothing more to do with this thing. I am satisfied it is merely a slave-holder's plan to get rid of negroes that they do not want."

It should be noted that though this idea of "colonization in Africa" was calculated to give an impression of freedom and general welfare, the facts did not bear this out. Men, women and children were none the less arbitrarily torn from their friends and families, and there was no adequate provision made for them after they were landed on African soil. The whole thing left the *principle* of slavery—of ownership of man by man—untouched.

Garrison's visit to England struck a death-blow to the "colonization" idea. And on his return to America he began urging the organization of true anti-slavery societies throughout the country here. He was unalterably opposed

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

to any half-way measures—so-called ‘liberal’ and ‘philanthropic’ plans that tried to soften the issue to suit the sensibilities and convenience of slave-holders. Garrison’s own standard was the “immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves on the soil.”

VII

It was in January, 1832, that the New England Anti-slavery Society had been organized on this basis. Its first meeting was held in the office of Samuel E. Sewell, then one of Boston’s rising young lawyers. This association at once issued a manifesto, taking its stand upon the Golden Rule—“All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,” and the scripture—“God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth,” and also that sentence from the American Declaration of Independence:—“All men are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” “We believe,” said this manifesto, “that slavery is an evil *now*. A thief found in possession of stolen property is required to relinquish it *immediately*. The

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

slave-holder and the man-stealer are in unlawful possession of the sons and daughters of Africa. They should *immediately* set them free. Every principle which proves slavery unjust, an evil and a curse, equally demonstrates the duty of immediate emancipation."

A little more than a year after the organization of this New England Society, a similar association was formed in New York, and from this on, the work spread. Within nine years of the establishment of *The Liberator* in that dingy little Boston attic, there were nearly two thousand anti-slavery organizations in the United States, with a membership of nearly 200,000 men and women.

About this time, however, divisions in the ranks of anti-slavery advocates began to appear. From the beginning Garrison had opposed every suggestion of a "compromise ticket" or the support of any candidate for any office who was not an avowed anti-slavery and "immediate emancipation" man. He would no longer countenance any proposal of even granting freedom gradually, and finally came to regard even the Federal Constitution as a pro-slavery document, thought it should be amended to meet the present issue and that the South should be persuaded to accept immediate

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

and unconditional emancipation. Otherwise he could see no way to avoid dissension between North and South. But in the rapidly spreading agitation against slavery which he had kindled, there were many people sincerely interested who were yet not ready to go to such lengths, and Garrison's immediate personal following became smaller with these differences of opinion. But the cause as a whole went on, just the same. Indeed, its momentum seemed even greater now that there were several leaders instead of one.

With the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency in 1860, Garrison's triumph came. Some of the most radical abolitionists—doubtless Garrison among the number—had not voted for him, but for a man named Gerritt Smith, on a separate, anti-slavery ticket. But just because this ticket was separate from the big political parties, it had no chance of success at that time. The political "machines" against it were too strong. But though he had refused to vote for the political party whose ticket had carried Lincoln's name, Garrison's years of work had none the less contributed more perhaps than any other one factor in the country, to the creation of the public sentiment that put Lincoln into power at that crucial

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

time. Garrison stood aloof from all political parties, but his work was so forceful and fearless that its influence was felt in every part of the country's life, even by the forces that opposed him. He did not believe in political methods, he built no political machine, formulated no political platform. But in season and out of season he laid the great principles of human justice and human liberty upon the consciences of the people of America. To-day we can see that without his work there would have arisen no "Abolition Party," and probably no "Republican Party" either, the new territories of the South and West would not have been rescued from the blight of slavery, and the Proclamation of Emancipation would probably have been long delayed.

VIII

It will, of course, always remain a question in some minds as to whether Garrison's insistence upon literally "immediate" emancipation was the wisest course, and whether a gradual policy might not have avoided the civil war and the consequent years of bitter feeling between the two sections of the country. It has been urged that by the gradual method the negroes themselves would have been better

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

prepared for the responsibilities of freedom. But for Garrison, any degree of compromise seemed morally impossible. And probably no course of action, with however good results, has ever been followed, with reference to which it has not afterwards been said:—"Perhaps some other way might have been better."

On the other hand, it is argued that work less radical than Garrison's (and one must always keep in mind that the essential meaning of the word 'radical' is *thorough*) would doubtless only have postponed and prolonged the final struggle, and a sharp, clean riddance—like a surgical operation—was, indeed, the better way! Promise of freedom to the slaves in some indefinite future, with no specific time fixed, really meant no freedom at all. India knows only too well the value of indefinite promises—how utterly worthless they are! Other men, before Garrison, had tried mild and gradual measures such as "working towards emancipation later on when the time may be more propitious," or "when the slaves will be better prepared for it." But all such advocates, of course, accomplished absolutely nothing. No really effective agitation was done for the abolition of slavery until Garrison took up the problem with an earnest-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

ness that would not be delayed nor turned aside. Honest, earnest action of course always follows honest, earnest thinking. Garrison insisted in uncovering all the darkest corners in which lurked the crimes inherent in and perpetuated by human slavery. He did not flinch from forcing upon the attention of every man and woman with whom he came in contact his own conviction that every white human being in the country was guilty of these crimes in proportion to his or her inactivity in that crisis. And it was not until Garrison's courageous persistence broke the moral torpor into which the country had lapsed, that any decisive action was taken.

It should be noted in this instance as in all similar social movements, that while the emancipation of the Negroes for the time being materially impoverished the South, yet at the same time it lifted a great miasma of inertia from that whole section of the country, and the majority of thinking people in the South are to-day glad that slavery is a thing of the past.

In all human bondage, in all injustice, the moral degradation of the oppressor is inevitable. The oppressed may perhaps preserve his honor, self-respect, independence of spirit, but

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

the fate of the tyrant is sealed. The slavery of mind under which the slave-owners of the South labored was their own greatest curse—they were slaves to their own ignorance and selfishness, to their false pride and arrogance, their distorted values of human life and labor. The great majority of white people in the South were spenders only, unproductive idlers living on the sweat and blood of the men and women they held in bondage. With the freedom of their Negroes it became necessary for all to engage in the earning of bread and in the work of the world—a bitter task at first for most of them, but a great factor in their eventual education and liberation of mind. Freedom for bondsmen always means a corresponding moral gain for those who have held them in bondage. Would that Englishmen might bear this in mind in connection with their dealings with India.

Though there are men to-day who have misgivings regarding the fate of democracy in the United States, I cannot but believe that the splendidly sincere, courageously earnest work to which Garrison gave his life will not be lost, but will contribute its share to the growth of a truly democratic spirit not only here but throughout the world, wherever the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

- story of this struggle is known. The conflict between Garrison and the slave-owning class was really a conflict between the democratic ideal—a government ‘of the people, for the people and by the people,’—and the monarchical or feudal idea of one class or race ruling by the right of physical might over another class born to serve.

If ever a man had a “genius for justice,” a passion for thoroughness and truth, if ever a man lived whose very meat and drink it was to aid the right and oppose the wrong, to defend the helpless and the oppressed, such a man was Garrison. Indomitable of will, broad in sympathies, commanding in intellect, Garrison drew to his allegiance men like Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Samuel May, Theodore Parker, who looked up to him as their leader. And it has been said of Garrison that no one man ever did more toward endowing a whole nation with a conscience, than did he by his uncompromising allegiance to his own conscience. Appeals which, at the beginning of his career, fell on deaf ears, became the earnest concern of the majority of the whole population before his life was done.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

IX

I would like to speak of Garrison's domestic life, joyous and tranquil in the love of wife and children, undisturbed by the storms that swept over his public career. But to do justice to such a story would require too much space. His death in 1879, at the age of seventy-five, was a fitting sequel to such a life as his, his trust in God and his belief in immortality burning brightly until the last. Well might Wendell Phillips, one of the most distinguished orators of that time, say on the occasion of his funeral, standing by his lifeless form :—"It was really that hand, lying there, now stiff and cold, that wrote the Emancipation Proclamation—who held the pen is of small concern. As God sees, as history will see, it was the hand of Lloyd Garrison and no other that struck the chains forever from a subject race."

Garrison's funeral in Boston was really an historical event. I shall never cease to be thankful that it was my own privilege to attend it. Throughout all the addresses made, the thought rang out—"Let our sorrow at this parting be dispelled by an exultant thankfulness that such a man was given to the world, and lived in our midst." A great company of

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

men and women whose tears and tributes of love would have done only too great honor to the mightiest king that ever wielded an earthly sceptre, paid there the homage of their hearts to this knight of human brotherhood and defender of human freedom.

The life of this faithful "servant of the ideal" teaches many lessons, of which the most important is perhaps the invincible power of the Right—that one may confidently take one's stand on the side of Truth and Justice, however powerful may seem the forces that oppose or the difficulties that confront one—a lesson finely stated by William Cullen Bryant,—

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,

The eternal years of God are hers."

And again by Longfellow,—

"The mills of God grind slowly but they grind
exceeding small ;

Though with patience He stands waiting,
with exactness grinds He all."

The same lesson is taught by Thomas Carlyle in words of lightning and thunder—"In this, God's world, with its wild, whirling eddies, and its mad foam oceans, where men and nations perish as without law, and judgment for an unjust thing is sternly delayed, dost thou think that there is therefore no justice? That is

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

what the fool hath said in his heart. I tell thee again there is nothing else but justice. One strong thing I find here below:—the just thing, the true thing.”

Yes, there is a might in this world stronger than armies and navies, stronger than all rulers and governments—it is the might of Right. Matthew Arnold phrases it—“A power not ourselves that makes for righteousness.” Men are fools who presume to deny or oppose the ultimate triumph of the Right. Garrison himself expressed it in ringing words :

“High walls and the huge body may confine,
And iron gates obstruct the prisoner’s gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways ;
Yet scorns the immortal mind this base control,
No chains can bind it and no cell enclose ;
Swifter than light it flies from pole to pole
And, in a flash, from earth to heaven it goes.
It leaps from mount to mount, from vale to
vale,
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and
flowers ;
It visits home, to hear the fireside tale
And in sweet converse passes joyous hours.
’Tis up before the sun roaming afar,
And in its watches wearies every star.”

CHAPTER III

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

IF a traveller from India, visiting America during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, had asked, "Who is the queen of American women?" I think the answer oftenest received would have been—"Mrs. Julia Ward Howe."*

Her intellectual abilities were of so high an order, her character so fine and true, her personal charm so great, and the service she rendered her country—especially the women of her country—so conspicuous, so many-sided and fundamental, that I do not think it an exaggeration to say that for the thirty or forty years before her death in 1910, she was the most widely known and honored, the most influential and the best loved of all American women of her time.

And yet withal she was entirely unassuming, approachable, sympathetic. Her thoughts and her time were occupied with the realities of life and the service of humanity; the baubles of ostentatious deference, of pride and display, were repugnant to her.

* Born, New York City, 1819.

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

The following is perhaps one of her most characteristic utterances and expresses really the keynote of her life—

“To those courageous souls who, alone and unaided, have been able to face the world’s passion and its inertia; to those pioneer leaders of forlorn and far hopes who have seen glory in the depths of death and sought it there; to those ‘voices in the wilderness’ proclaiming the triumphant progress of truth; to those brave spirits whose strength the fires of hell have annealed but not consumed—to these my soul shall ever render glad and high homage. And if in my later age I might seek the crowning honor of my life, I should seek it with that small faithful band who have no choice but to utter their deepest convictions and abide the issue. Fruitful shall be their pain and their privations. They who have sown in tears the seeds of unpopular truth and virtue, shall reap a happy harvest in the good and gratitude of mankind.”

I

When Mrs. Howe’s public life opened, about the year 1860, a great new desire was springing up and making itself felt in America and elsewhere, for a better and more general education

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

for girls and women. A greater degree of social and intellectual freedom and a larger and richer field of practical activity than the rather narrow and rigid customs of the time had allowed, were beginning to be demanded by the freer spirits of Mrs. Howe's generation. Already there was universal primary and elementary education for girls, and the question naturally began to be asked, "Why not also *higher* education for them?" Pioneer efforts to this end were already being made. It was in 1861 that Vassar College, the first college for women in America, was founded; to be followed later by many others of the same kind, and also by a steadily increasing number of co-educational colleges and universities, where young men and women shared the same conditions and qualified in the same studies. An increasingly large number of women were fitting themselves as teachers, as journalists, writers, physicians, lecturers; and public opinion to some extent was with them. It was about that time that agitation for women suffrage began, also.

In all these movements Mrs. Howe took a substantial part; in many, she was a conspicuous leader. Though born into a home of comfort and of wealth, wealth as such never

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

attracted her nor seemed to her of anything like so much importance as the well-being of her fellow-men. Beautiful in person, intellectually brilliant, courted on every side, surrounded by all the influences that would naturally lead to a life of mere fashion and superficial pleasures, she yet early saw the hollowness of such a life, and turned to those things that would give permanent satisfaction to her higher nature and make her of service to the world. From earliest childhood she loved books. Reading and study were a delight to her. While a mere girl at school she learned Latin, French and German. Later she became proficient in Italian also, teaching herself, without other instruction, because it seemed to her so beautiful a language. She even delved into profound works of philosophy, and her writing and conversation showed that she had made them a part of her thought. She began to write at an early age. At seventeen she had published quite a number of fine poems anonymously.

She was, however, far from being a recluse or a mere bookworm. On the contrary, she enjoyed social gatherings, and was the life of such occasions, and greatly sought for by people of wealth and position. Her daughter,

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Mrs. Laura E. Richards, says of her mother at this time :—" Although she grew up noticeably dreamy and absorbed in study, she was yet full of fun and flashing wit. She and her two beautiful sisters were called the ' three graces of Bond Street.'....Her glorious crown of red-gold hair set off the rose and ivory of her perfect complexion. Every one acknowledged her as ' the stately Julia, queen of all.' "

It may be of interest just here to note that Roger Williams, the pioneer of religious toleration in America, was one of Mrs. Howe's ancestors on her father's side, and her mother was of Huguenot descent, the family having taken a prominent part in the American Revolution.

II

In early womanhood, Mrs. Howe went on a visit from New York to Boston, and there became acquainted with Dr. Samuel G. Howe whom a little later she married. This turned her life into still wider channels, channels that were most congenial to her temperament, and led to the rich achievements and fruitions with which her subsequent career was filled. Dr. Howe was nearly twenty years older than his wife. When they first met he was already

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

famous. Some idea of his character and history may be of interest at this point. In 1864, after having graduated in the Arts course at Brown University and in medicine at Harvard, Dr. Howe had become deeply interested in the cause of the Greeks who were then struggling to throw off the yoke of Turkey, and went to Greece to fight by the side of Lord Byron for their liberty. There, both through his work as a surgeon and as an active soldier, he made for himself a warm place in the hearts of the Greek people. After sharing their struggles and hardships for two years, he returned to America, raised a large sum of money as a relief fund for the impoverished Greeks, and went back with a shipload of food and clothing which he himself distributed among the suffering. He stayed there for a time to help to revive trade and commerce in the devastated country, and was later made surgeon-in-chief of the Greek fleet. When the fight for Greek independence was won, Dr. Howe went to France and there aided the people in establishing their second Republic.

Later, with J. Fennimore Cooper, the distinguished novelist, and S. F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, Dr. Howe helped the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Poles in their unavailing struggle against the combined tyranny of Prussia, Russia and Austria. He went to Germany carrying a Polish Relief Fund, was imprisoned in Berlin and afterwards expelled from the country. These stirring adventures had made Dr. Howe known throughout both Europe and America, where he was beloved and honored by all friends of liberty.

In 1833 he began, in Boston, his great work for the blind. It was largely through his efforts that the Perkins Institution for the Blind was established, which under his direction soon became the leading school of its kind in the world. Here he achieved one of the most remarkable results ever known in the history of education, that of taking Laura Bridgeman, who at the age of two had lost all sense of sight, smell and hearing, and teaching her to read and write and so training her in clear thinking and general intelligence as to enable her to become a teacher of others. It was at this time (1841) when he was already famous, that Dr. Howe first met the earnest, and enthusiastic young woman from New York, who a year or two later was to become his wife. With his soul aflame for human service he was exactly the man to kindle her enthu-

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

siasm and capture her heart, stimulating her to the highest of which she was capable.

After their marriage, Dr. and Mrs. Howe spent a year in Europe in company with their friends, Horace Mann, the distinguished American educator, and his bride. They went first to London where they occupied a house in Upper Baker Street. There many well-known people came to visit them, among these, Charles Dickens, Monckton Milnes, Sydney Smith, Maria Edgeworth, Henry Hallam, Macclise and Landseer. Thomas Carlyle also came there to see them, and was permitted to smoke his pipe, though Mrs. Howe had a strong dislike for tobacco. During this English sojourn Mrs. Howe spent three days with Florence Nightingale, the two finding much in common, and in after life Mrs. Howe frequently referred to "the charming and graceful personality" of her hostess.

After leaving England, Dr. and Mrs. Howe made a somewhat extended tour of the Continent, staying longest in Italy. That year was one of particular enjoyment and pleasure to both, and bore fruit in many ways throughout Mrs. Howe's later work and life. On their return to America they made their home in Boston and Mrs. Howe soon became a recog-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

nized leader in the social life there. But the society she gathered around her were not the frivolous and merely 'fashionable' set. They were the intelligent, the cultured, the earnest—men and women of fine ideals and high purpose in life: the men and women who made the Boston and New England of the last half of the nineteenth century honored and great. Among her close friends were Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Frank B. Sanborn, and Edward Everett Hale.

III

In religion, Mrs. Howe was a Unitarian, as was her husband. During the life of Theodore Parker, Mrs. Howe was one of the great throng who went every Sunday to the Boston Music Hall to hear that great prophet of God, who was an earnest and indefatigable social and political reformer as well. After Parker's death she joined the Church of the Disciples, whose minister at that time was the eminent and saintly preacher and writer, Dr. James Freeman Clarke. Thus she was at the very centre of the best intellectual, moral, religious and philanthropic life of Boston and New

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

England. Her religious faith cannot be better epitomized than in these words of Dr. Clarke :—

“ The fatherhood of God,
The brotherhood of Man,
The leadership of Jesus,
Salvation by character,
The progress of Mankind,
Onward and upward forever.”

For the forms, ceremonies, externalities and current theologies of Christianity Mrs. Howe cared little. But for its deep ethical and spiritual realities, as embodied in these simple and fundamental faiths, she cared deeply all her life.

IV

Her long life was divided between three great and absorbing interests—one was literary work, study for its own sake ; another, the service of others, both in personal ways and through public movements for educational, industrial, religious and political progress ; and the third, which was never subordinated to any other interest, was her home and family.

All her life Mrs. Howe was a prolific writer. She was the author of nearly a dozen books, but the larger part of her literary work

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

was given to the world through papers and magazines. Contributions from her pen were sought eagerly by editors, and her articles always found a wide and interested circle of readers. Some years before her death, Mrs. Howe was the guest of the Author's Club of New York, and there told the interesting story of how "The Battle Hymn of the Republic", the best known, perhaps, of all her poems, came to be written. "During the early years of the Civil War," she said, "I was in Washington with my husband, and my pastor, Dr. James Freeman Clarke. We were witnessing a review of the Union troops. The road was so filled with soldiers that the return from the reviewing ground was very slow and tedious, and to while away the time we sang a number of war songs, among them, the famous (even then) "John Brown's Body." Some of the passing regiments took it up and echoes rang with it for miles. Dr. Clarke said to me, 'Mrs. Howe, why don't you compose some appropriate words for that very expressive tune?' I told him I had tried but had not succeeded. The next morning I awoke suddenly in the gray light just before the day, and found the lines I wanted running through my mind. I arose at once and wrote them down, and after-

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

wards sent them to the Atlantic Monthly, the editor, Mr. James T. Fields, supplying the title. They did not attract much attention at first. But on a certain occasion Chaplain McCabe sung them, when at once they caught the public ear and flew everywhere..." Following are some of the stanzas:

" Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of
the Lord ;

He is trampling out the vintage where the
grapes of wrath are stored ;

He has loosed the fateful lightnings of his
terrible quick sword

His Truth is marching on !

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished
rows of steel

' As ye dealt with these, my children, so with
you your fate shall deal.'

Let the prophet born of woman crush the
serpent with his heel

Our God is marching on !

I have seen him in the watch-fires of an
hundred circling camps ;

I can read his righteous sentence by their dim
and flickering lamps ;

There is builded him an altar in the evening
dews and damps

His Day is marching on !

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall
never call retreat;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before his
judgment-seat:

O be swift, my soul, to answer him! Be jubilant
my feet!

Our God is marching on!"

From that day to the present, this hymn has had an unflagging, indeed a growing popularity, and has been translated into many languages.

V

Both Mrs. Howe and her husband enlisted early in the anti-slavery cause, in which they did heroic and devoted service. For some years they edited an anti-slavery newspaper, "*The Boston Commonwealth*". The fact that Boston wealth and fashion were largely on the side of the slave-holder did not deter these brave souls from siding with the slave and doing all in their power for his freedom. And after the Civil War was over and the Negroes were liberated, Mrs. Howe still remained deeply interested in their welfare. She never ceased to urge justice in their treatment and the great importance of giving them schools and a thorough education. No voice was more stern

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

than hers in condemnation of the horrors of lynching and every other wrong done to this race to whom the white people were so much indebted.

All her life, Mrs. Howe continued to feel a deep interest in the Greeks for whom her husband (who died in 1876) had so chivalrously labored and fought. In the many national struggles and tragic experiences they have been called upon to pass through since Dr. Howe left their shores, she never ceased to follow their fortunes with the warmest sympathy. Greeks travelling on this side of the water, or coming here to make their homes, were always sure to find in her a wise and generous friend. Whenever the Greeks in Boston held their celebrations, it was Mrs. Howe's custom to speak to them in their own language.

She was keenly alive to the sufferings and wrongs of all oppressed peoples. It was owing to her initiative that the "Society of American Friends of Russian Freedom" was organized, with Wendell Phillips, Whittier, Phillips Brooks, and many other distinguished Americans as members. When that remarkable woman, Catherine Breshkovsky, came to this country to tell the terrible story of Russian oppression, Mrs. Howe exerted herself earnestly

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

to secure a wide hearing for her, and to awaken national interest in her cause. Later, when Czarist Russia reached its iron fingers across the sea and through the wiles of diplomacy tried to get hold of Jan Pouren, the political refugee, and drag him back to the Siberian mines, or a speedier death, Mrs. Howe assisted in the organization of those hundreds of protest meetings held in all parts of the land, which finally resulted in defeating Russia's intrigue. To the meeting of protest held in Fanueil Hall, Boston, Mrs. Howe sent a letter saying: "Our right of asylum must be kept inviolate and inviolable," and quoting Emerson's words, "Bid the broad Atlantic roll, a ferry of the free."

All her life Mrs. Howe was a friend of Italy. She warmly sympathized with Mazzini and Garibaldi and the men who led the Italian people in their heroic struggle for national freedom and unity. She made repeated visits to Italy, which seemed to her a land of extraordinary charm. She loved the people and their language, and the country's rich treasures of art and music. She was always held in very high regard by the large numbers of Italians living in America. When she was eighty-seven years of age she gave an address in the Italian

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

language at the celebration by Boston Italians of the 400th anniversary of the death of Columbus. She was honorary president of the Circle Italiano and in 1902 received from the Societa Dante Alighieri of Rome (of which the Boston Society is a branch) a formal acknowledgment of her efforts to diffuse throughout America a knowledge of the language and affairs of Italy.

If she could have lived a few years longer, how great would have been her appreciation of and her interest in India's two great teachers and reformers, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi, and how warm and earnest would have been her sympathy with the Indian people, not only in their political struggle to secure for themselves the freedom and nationhood which are their right, but also in their many-sided social struggles to secure universal education, including education for their girls and young women, to get better sanitation and better health-conditions everywhere, to banish intemperance and the curse of opium, to abolish child-marriage and the wrongs done to widows, to gain a larger and fuller life for all women, to lift up to manhood and to equality of rights and privileges the untouchable classes of India, to foster the literatures, arts and industries of India, and to promote her distinctive civiliza-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

tion as an important contribution to the civilization of the world!

VI

Mrs. Howe was always a very earnest advocate of the cause of peace and for many years before her death had been an officer of the American Peace Society. She was greatly stirred at the time of the Franco-Prussian war (in 1870) and drew up an appeal, asking:—"Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere to prevent this waste of human life of which they alone know and bear the cost?" The appeal was translated into French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Swedish, and circulated widely throughout Europe. As long as she lived, she continued to write and speak in the interest of international peace and arbitration.

One chapter in Mrs. Howe's "Reminiscences" is entitled "A Woman's Peace Crusade." It deals with an episode in her history too often overlooked, for it is the story of one of the most impressive efforts of her life. "It seemed to me," Mrs. Howe wrote of the Franco-Prussian war, "a return to barbarism, the issue being one that might so easily have been settled without bloodshed. The august dignity of motherhood and its terrible responsi-

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

bility in this connection, now appeared to me in a new light, and I could think of no better way of expressing my sense of this than by sending out an appeal to the womanhood of the world." She called upon women the world over to assist her in summoning and holding a Congress of Women in London to organize a crusade of women against the whole system of war, and two years of her life were almost entirely devoted to correspondence upon this subject with the leading women of various countries. She held important meetings in New York at which the cause of international peace and women's part in promoting it were earnestly presented. At one of these, David Dudley Field, the great advocate of international arbitration, made a powerful address. In the Spring of 1872 Mrs. Howe went herself to England to work for a woman's peace congress in London. William Henry Channing was in England at the time and she had much help from him in her "Women's Apostolate of Peace", as she afterwards named it, also from the Unitarian Association of London, and many influential English men and women. She attended the meetings of the English Peace Society, and asked permission to address one of them, but this was refused on the ground

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

that women never had spoken at these meetings! She decided at last to hire a hall for Sunday afternoon meetings, at the Freemasons' Tavern, and spoke there for a number of weeks, with good audiences.

In the meantime Mrs. Howe had come into touch with Frances Power Cobbe, Miss Clough, Mary Carpenter and other public-spirited women and received many invitations to address meetings in various parts of England. She also attended the peace conference then in Paris. But she was not allowed to speak there. Mrs. Howe's final meeting in London, to which all her other efforts had been intended to lead up, was held in St. George's Hall. Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Bright sat with her on the platform, and Sir John Bowring, then an old man, spoke at some length. The attendance was good but the meeting as a whole was by 'no means what Mrs. Howe had hoped. Her entire 'crusade' fell far short of the co-operation and success she had desired, and she returned to Boston, in disappointment, but not in discouragement. She redoubled her efforts at home, and became one of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society. The institution of "Mother's Day" (for which she chose the second of June

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

because it was a good time for out-of-door meetings) was due to her efforts, and was originally devoted solely to the advocacy of peace. For a number of years Mrs. Howe herself conducted these meetings, and greatly rejoiced at the news of similar organizations elsewhere—some as far away as Constantinople.

In Mrs. Howe's letter to the National Peace Congress held in New York in 1907 (only three years before her death) and which was read there by her daughter, Mrs. Hall, she speaks with intense feeling of the force of conviction which moved her to make her 'crusade' in '72—"I cried aloud, 'If the women of the world would unite to prevent resort to arms, no more blood would be shed upon any battle-field!' I felt this so strongly that it seemed that I had only to proclaim it to rally around me all the mothers of mankind." To so unite the women of the world for peace, had indeed been the mainspring of her life-long efforts in behalf of the wider education of women, and her letter to the congress concluded, "If we have rocked the cradle and soothed the slumber of mankind, let us lead in the great awakening and make steadfast the peace of the world."

I dwell at some length upon this phase of

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Mrs. Howe's work because of its pertinency to the present time, when again and again the responsibility for the peace of the world has been declared to rest primarily with the women of to-day. Her work for women was regarded by Mrs. Howe herself as the most important work of her life; and in this work she labored as long as she lived,—lecturing in this and other countries, attending conventions and congresses, pleading before legislatures and writing in its behalf with a tireless pen.

VII

She was not one of the very earliest of the advocates of woman suffrage. Like many others she was at first somewhat prejudiced against it, but when she came to look carefully into its reasons, its meaning and its probable results, she found herself drawn irresistibly into sympathy with it, and for more than forty years there was no more tireless worker for equal suffrage than was she. As early as 1868 she took a leading part in organizing the New England Woman Suffrage Association. Accompanied by other women (and men of distinction, such as Senator Hoar of Massachusetts)—women of ability, culture and influence, Mrs. Howe's eloquence and social prestige were a

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

tower of strength to the cause during its early years of unpopularity. Important also was the work she did in connection with the "Women's Congress" which held yearly meetings of several days each, in the larger cities of the United States and Canada, where the discussions included all phases of education and all subjects bearing upon the life of women. Reports of these Congresses were widely circulated in the newspapers, and wherever the meetings were held they left behind them a train of Women's Clubs, Study Classes, and organizations of various kinds which opened up new avenues of thought and activity for women.

The women of India, who are now doing such splendid work along these lines, will be interested in this phase of Mrs. Howe's work, and will understand the great and untiring effort necessary to initiate a movement of this character. Precedent, and all the influences of conservatism were against her. Men frowned and women feared. Such organizations were declared to be unwomanly. If women wanted to meet together, it was urged, they should do so only for the purpose of sewing for the poor, or similar philanthropies. To organize for intellectual improvement, for the purpose of public speaking, or to undertake concerted

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

movements for social betterment, seemed to the rank and file of that day little short of "criminal anarchy." But Mrs. Howe, on the contrary, believed and preached, in season and out of season, that women not only were just as capable of an intellectual life of their own as were men, but also that they would be better and wiser wives and mothers as they became more developed mentally, more widely interested in human affairs. She recognized the power of united effort, of thorough organization, and insisted that women should avail themselves of this power for the enlargement of their own lives and the benefit of society as a whole.

It is not contended, of course, that all the miscellaneous organizations of women existing to-day are unqualifiedly good. What movement in the world is all good? Everything has its weak side. If we condemn all advance movements that are not perfect from the start, we shall never have any progress at all. But after making all just allowances for limitations and imperfections, it seems difficult to understand how any thoughtful person can, without satisfaction and pride and great new hope for the world, witness the work which women's clubs and other organizations are doing to-day all over this country and many others, not only for

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

the enlargement of the life of to-day, but for the children of the future, and for the promotion of so many worthy causes—practically every cause that stands for human well-being in our time.

Consider the situation as we see it to-day—what splendid fruit the women's movement has already borne, in the fields of religion, education, temperance, in philanthropies and social reforms of all kind; in the work of improving homes and making motherhood more intelligent; in child-saving; in the improvement of jails and prisons; in civic sanitation and beautification; in social settlement work, public playgrounds and kindergartens, travelling libraries and flower and fruit missions; the care of the sick, the aged, the poor;—indeed, one is almost tempted to say that there is nothing good going on to-day that is not in some degree the result of the organized efforts of women. To have been a leader—perhaps more than any other single woman, *the* leader, as Mrs. Howe was—in the creation of this splendid side of our modern social development, our modern higher civilization, is a greater glory than falls to the share of most of us in this world.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

VIII

Notwithstanding all her literary activity and all her public work Mrs. Howe was one of the most faithful, loving and devoted of mothers. She brought up a family of five children, a son and four daughters, all of whom became useful and honored members of society. I want to call particular attention to this side of her life because it is so often said that educated women do not make good mothers, that culture somehow detracts from motherhood, and especially that women who are interested in the welfare of the City, the State, the Nation, and desire the responsibility of voting for public servants, are poorer mothers in proportion to these wider interests.

Mrs. Howe was highly educated, richly cultured; she cared earnestly for public interests and for fifty years took an active part in civic and human welfare. But all who know her unite in testifying that there was no truer or more devoted mother. Her wider interests enriched her home-life, making her an unfailing inspiration to her husband and children. The companionship of such a mother was the finest of all educations for her children. Many who knew her have written of the charm of Mrs. Howe's home-life. Among

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

these are her daughters, Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott and Mrs. Laura Howe Richards. Says Mrs. Elliott :—"Nothing about our mother was more remarkable than the joyousness with which she took up each day and its cares. She always came into the room in the morning like a child who has some good news to share with the family. This wonderful spirit of gladness, overflowing in every sort of wit, jest and antic, took the sting from the bitterest nature, and in her company the satirist grew kind and the cynic humane. A deep spiritual joy seemed to enwrap her like a sort of enveloping climate; wherever she was, the sun shone, the sky was blue, birds sang, brooks babbled; for so tremendous was her spiritual force that it always conquered her environment. The sun of her presence never failed to break through the clouds, to dispel the grey fog of the 'blues,' the worries of the irritable or the sufferings of the disheartened. When people came to talk with her of their troubles, as they so often did, the troubles seemed to melt before her happy outlook on life and the troubled ones carried away with them something of her own glad vision."

Mrs. Richards, in her book, "When I Was

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Your Age," gives a fascinating picture of Mrs. Howe's relations with her children, and lets us see something of how and why it was that she was so wonderful a mother. She lived not merely with her children, but close to them, in and through them sharing their very innermost lives, their every joy and sorrow, their hopes and plans and ambitions and even their most mysterious secrets, and found her greatest joy in so doing. Mrs. Richards says: "Our mother's genius might soar to heaven on such a song as her 'Battle Hymn of the Republic', but we always considered that she was tied to our little string, and never doubted our perfect right to pull her down to earth whenever a matter of importance—such as a doll's funeral or a sick kitten—required her presence or her sympathy. She always had time for all our confidences, and she had a rare understanding of the child-mind. We were always sure that 'Mama knew just how it was.' Through all and around all, like a laughing river, flowed the current of her wit and fun. No child could be sad in her company. If we were cold, there would be a merry bout of 'fisticuffs' to warm us. If we were too warm there was a song or story while we sat still and 'cooled off'. We all had nick-

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

names, our own being usually too sober to suit her laughing mood. We were 'Petotty', 'Jehu', 'Wolly', and 'Bunks of Bunktown.' What fun we got of those names! It was worth while to have measles and all the rest of children's diseases, not because one had stewed prunes and cream toast, but because our mother sat by us and sang 'Lord Thomas and Fair Elinor' and all the rest of the ballads we loved. ...Our walks with our mother are never to be forgotten—twilight walks over the hills, with the wonderful sunset deepening over the bay, turning all the world to gold and jewels; or through the lovely wild glen with its waterfall and its murmuring streams, and the solemn Norway firs with their warning fingers. Here, and in the lovely lonely fields, as we walked, our mother talked with us and shared with us the rich treasures of her thought,

'And oh, the words that fell from her mouth

Were words of wonder and words of truth.'

One such word, dropped in the course of conversation as the maiden in the fairy story dropped diamonds and pearls, comes now to my mind and I shall write it here because it is good to think of and to say over to oneself—

'I gave my son a palace, a kingdom to control
The palace of his body, the kingdom of his soul.'

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Our mother read to us a great deal, too, and told us all kinds of stories from the 'Trojan War' down to 'Puss in Boots', and it was with her beside us that we looked over the Shakespeare book and learned its stories by heart."

This is the true way to lay the foundations of all education. What a sermon is bound up in those two simple lines about the kingdom of one's soul! Do you think a child could ever forget it? That is the way to teach children religion—your children and mine. We must live near to them, and win their confidences. We must be their nearest and dearest friends. We must let them see that we care, and care very deeply, for all the fine, high things that religion stands for and symbolizes. And then when we are alone with them in beautiful places, and feel that we are very close to them in sympathy and feeling, we must speak the simple, reverent, earnest word that is in our hearts, drop the seed of a sweet, high, tender thought, perhaps about our idea of God, perhaps about speaking lovingly or living nobly. And we may be sure that it will be a seed of life. It will not die. It will live and grow in the years to come when we have forgotten all about it. It will bear fruit after we are gone from the earth.

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

Stories of Mrs. Howe's home-life always recall to me what Sister Nivedita has written (in "the Web of Indian Life" and other writings) of home-life in India and the influence of the Indian mother. Our Western homes and home-makers can, I am convinced, learn not a few fine and beautiful lessons from the traditions and customs of "the cradle-country of the world."

IX

Mrs. Howe was an accomplished musician. A volume of musical compositions from her pen was published about the time of her death. Her voice was one of rare sweetness and until very late in life her singing was a constant source of pleasure to her friends. Mrs. Richards writes—"Our mother's story should be sung rather than said, so much had music to do with all her life." Her children recall as among the very happiest recollections of their home-life, the habitual gatherings of the family at twilight around the piano to sing, and, greatest treat of all, to listen to the songs their mother would sing. It seemed to them "that she must know all the songs of the world." Besides those of her own composition, there were "gay little

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

French songs, all ripple and sparkle and trill; and soft, melting Italian serenades and barcarolles, which seemed like the notes of the nightingale; and merry, jovial German student songs which she had learned from her brother when he came back from Heidelberg." And with all the rest there was no lack of songs that were earnest and tender, full of noble and inspiring thought and feeling. Thus it was that through all the years when her children were growing up music was one of the most constant and effective of the agencies used by Mrs. Howe to add charm to their home and make it the most attractive place in the world for her family.

X

As we have seen, Mrs. Howe was a woman of deeply religious nature but her religion was not superstitious or dark or ascetic. Rather it was essentially one of light and reason and love, which made her sympathetic toward all sorrow and eager to help wherever help was needed, and opened her life to all that was sweet and beautiful and good.

She was never formally ordained to the ministry, but she preached a great deal and always with great acceptance. Oftenest, of

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

course, she spoke in Unitarian pulpits, those of her own denomination ; but she also frequently preached in other churches. In the later years of her life she was welcome in almost all the pulpits of the country. Although she was often heard in the crowded and fashionable churches, she liked best to speak to the poor and lowly. She said she never enjoyed speaking so much as once when she gave a series of sermons to a congregation of bare-footed Negroes in the Island of San Domingo when her husband was United States Commissioner there. As a speaker, she was quiet, thoughtful, persuasive. She always spoke with dignity and a winning grace that did much to disarm those who opposed the practice of women speaking in public. She believed that the ministry in all churches should be open to women as well as men. In this she was far in advance of her time. For many years only the liberal churches (Unitarian and Universalist) allowed women to preach. But progress has been made since that time and now some half a dozen Christian denominations in the United States, Canada and England are opening their pulpits to women. Twenty years or more before her death, Mrs. Howe organized a Women's Ministerial Conference of which she was president.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

For many years before her death, her appearance in any public gathering was acknowledged by the audience rising and standing reverently until she was seated. The great esteem in which she was held was due no doubt in part to her advanced age (she was in her ninety-second year at the time of her death) but still more it was due to her rare intellectual and spiritual gifts, her quiet dignity and charm of personality, and it was a recognition of the devoted public service of her whole life.

XI

With all her gentleness, modesty and sweetness, Mrs. Howe was yet a woman of great strength of character and determination when a question of right was involved. She had unusual courage both in thought and action, and her loyalty to her convictions amounted to heroism. She dared to stand alone, to be a pioneer and identify herself with unpopular causes. This was true both in religious matters and in those of social reform. The great and influential churches of the country would have given her the warmest welcome to their membership, and of course identification would have increased her prestige. But in honest conviction she knew she

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

belonged to the small, pioneer, widely misunderstood church of Channing, Theodore Parker, Freeman Clarke, and of the handful of forward-looking men and women who dared to interpret Christianity in the light of modern knowledge and modern needs; and with that church she unhesitatingly cast her lot.

A number of honorary degrees were conferred upon Mrs. Howe by colleges and universities; only a few weeks before her death she received the degree of Doctor of Humanities from the largest of the American colleges for women. Upon the occasion of this presentation, she was brought upon the platform in a wheeled chair and the great audience of some two or three thousand greeted her with the most enthusiastic applause and with one voice sang her "Battle Hymn of the Republic." The president of the college in conferring the degree characterized her as "poet and patriot, lover of letters and of learning, advocate for more than half a century in print and in living speech of all great causes of human liberty; sincere friend of all that makes for the enrichment and elevation of womanhood, to whom in her serene, gracious and venerated age we offer our felicitation and grateful homage."

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

My voyage nears its close. In some still haven
My bark will find an anchorage of rest,
When that kind Hand, which ever good has
 given,
Opening with wider grace, shall give the
 Best."

XII

Mrs. Howe's funeral was held at the Church of the Disciples in Boston, where her religious home had been for more than fifty years. The cosmopolitan character of the great congregation that gathered to express their affection and their sorrow at her going, was most noticeable. It not only included people of many nationalities, but also of many faiths, from all walks of life, rich and poor, white and black, the most famous in the land and the most obscure. All alike loved and honored her. A touching incident of the ceremonies was a song, "In tears of grief", sung by the blind pupils of the Perkins Institute, the school for the blind which Dr. Howe had established and in which Mrs. Howe had been so deeply interested all her life. Perhaps most impressive was the fact that while her funeral service continued, every public school in Boston suspended its regular exercises and devoted the time to the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

memory of this great and beloved woman reading and reciting her poems, singing the hymns she had written, and in other ways recalling her life and character and the great service she rendered to their city and to the world.

Soon after Mrs. Howe's death, a great memorial meeting was held in Boston's historic Faneuil Hall, by the Massachusetts Women Suffrage Association. From this and from another great meeting in her honor held in Symphony Hall (Boston) in January 1911, hundreds were turned away unable to obtain even entrance, showing that the thought of her still remained warm and quick in the hearts of the multitude. Ex-President Roosevelt wrote on this occasion; "There is not a man or woman in America for whom I have felt the kind of devotion that I have felt for Mrs. Howe." In his address on the occasion, the Mayor of Boston said: "Mrs. Howe's whole life taught the evanescence of the life of mere pleasure compared with the life of thought, of work, of love. Not only in its duration but in its fullness, her life seemed to have marched parallel with the century in which she lived and to have absorbed and reflected its very highest aspirations". President Mary E. Wool-

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE

ley, of Mt. Holyoke College for Women, spoke most impressively of Mrs. Howe's "wonderful balance of power,—keen of mind and witty of speech, yet with the law of kindness governing her tongue; intense in conviction, unflinching in courage, yet always reasonable and open-minded to the views of other thinkers; quick in initiative yet patient in the realization of her plans,—discriminating in her judgments yet generous in her estimates of others; combining wide intellectual interests and attainments with an almost childlike simplicity, she manifested alike the courage of the soldier and the spirit of the Christ. ...Mrs. Howe's conception of true womanhood, that women should share all human rights and human responsibilities, was like the addition of a new continent to the map of the world."

Mrs. Howe's Centennial, May 27, 1919, was widely celebrated in this country and beyond by churches and patriotic societies and women's organizations of all kinds. At ninety, she had said of herself:—"The deeper I drink of life, the sweeter it grows." May we not think of her as still drinking deeply of a yet fuller life? I close with lines from her own pen, which she entitled, "An Epitaph."

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

'Over my grave,
Kindly grass,
Do not wave
 To those who pass
A single mournful thought
Of affection come to nought.
Look up to the blue
 Where, light-hid,
Lives what doth renew
 Man's chrysalid.
Say not: She is here ;
 Say not: She is there ;
Say : She lives in God,
Reigning everywhere."

PART SECOND

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

CHAPTER I

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

THE impression is wide-spread in America that British rule in India has been and is a great and almost unqualified good. The British themselves never tire of "pointing with pride" to what they claim to have done and to be doing for the benefit of the Indian people. What knowledge we have in America regarding the matter, comes almost wholly from British sources, and hence the majority of us do not suspect that there is another side to the story. But the Indian people claim, very earnestly claim, that there is another side, which cannot fail to prove a disillusionment to all who learn the truth about it.

During the days of chattel-slavery in the Southern States of the American Union, so long as the world knew of slavery only through the representations of it given by the slave-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

holders, the impression was common that slavery was a beneficent institution. It was not until the slaves themselves began to find a voice and the "sacred institution" came to be described from the standpoint of the bondman, that its real character began to be understood.

I

What, in reality, does British rule in India mean,—not from the standpoint of the British Government which gets such great political prestige from the holding of this vast Asiatic dependency; not as it is seen by the army of British officials in India who derive their living and their wealth from British economic domination there; but what does it mean as experienced by the 320 millions of Indian people who are not barbarians or 'half civilized' as many seem to suppose, but people who represent an ancient and high civilization, who as a nation, have had a long and proud past, not who more than a century and a half ago were conquered by force of arms and by commercial and diplomatic duplicity, and have been held in subjection ever since by a foreign power.

For more than a century and a quarter, indeed ever since Edmund Burke's famous

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

impeachment of Warren Hastings for his misdeeds in India, there have not been wanting Englishmen, both in India and at home, who have seen and deplored, and to some extent pointed out, what they have believed very serious wrongs connected with the British rule of the Indian people. Naturally such utterances have been unpopular in England, and have been 'hushed up' as much as possible. It has not been uncommon to denounce such plain-speaking as unpatriotic and traitorous. However, free speech has not been wholly suppressed. A great body of testimony has been accumulated both in England and in India, showing that the results of foreign conquest and foreign rule in this instance have not been essentially different from results of such conquest and rule everywhere else. This or that foreign domination may be a little more or a little less intelligent here or cruel there, but in every case and in every country and age its essential nature is the same. It is founded on force and not on justice. Its result is certain to be deep and wide-spread injury to those robbed of their freedom and their rights, and in the end, to those who do the robbing, as well. The rule of any people by the sword of a foreign conqueror is always a bitter thing to those who feel the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

sword's pitiless edge, whatever it may be to those who hold the hilt of the sword. But it is worse than bitter ; it is demoralizing, degenerating, destructive to the character of those held in subjection. It tends to destroy their self-respect, their power of initiative, their power of self-direction, to create a slave-psychology and rob them of all hope and incentive in life. Injury of this kind is the deepest that can be inflicted upon humanity.

II

To understand fully the great problem confronting the people of India to-day, we must have clearly in mind the exact relation between India and England. India is a "dependency", not a colony. Great Britain has both colonies and dependencies, and many persons suppose them to be identical. But they are not. Britain's free colonies, like Canada, though nominally governed by the mother-country, are really self-ruling in everything except their relations to foreign powers. Not so with dependencies like India. These are granted no self-government, no independence ; they are ruled absolutely by Great Britain, who is not their "mother" country, but only their conqueror and master.

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

As the result of a pretty wide acquaintance in England and a residence of some years in Canada, I am disposed to believe that nowhere in the world can be found governments that are more free, that more fully embody the intelligent will of their people, or that better serve their people's many-sided interests and wants, than those of the self-ruling colonies of Great Britain. I do not see but that these colonies are in every essential way as free as if they were full republics. Probably they are not any more free than the people of the United States, but it is no exaggeration to say that they are essentially as free. Their connection with England, their mother-country, is not one of coercion but of choice; it is one of reverence and affection. That the British Government assures such liberty in its colonies is a matter for congratulation and honorable pride. In this respect it stands on a moral elevation certainly equal to that of any government in the world.

But turn now from Britain's colonies to her dependencies. Here we find something for which there does not seem to be any natural place among British political institutions. Britons call their flag the flag of freedom. They speak of the British Constitution, largely

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

unwritten though it is, as a constitution that guarantees freedom to every British subject in the world. *Magna Charta* meant self-government for the English people. Cromwell wrote on the statute books of the English Parliament—"All just powers under God are derived from the consent of the people." Since Cromwell's day this principle has been fundamental, central, undisputed, in British home politics. It took a little longer to get it recognized in colonial matters. The American colonies in 1776 took their stand upon it. "Just government must be based upon the consent of the governed." "There should be no taxation without representation." These were their affirmations. Burke and Pitt and Fox and the broader-minded leaders of public opinion in England were in sympathy with their American brethren. If Britain had been true to her principle of freedom and self-rule she would have kept all her American colonies. But she was not true to it and so she lost them. Later she came very near losing Canada in the same way. But her eyes were opened in time and she gave Canada freedom and self-government. This prevented revolt and fastened Canada to her with hooks of steel. Since this experiment with Canada, it

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

has been a settled principle in connection with British colonial as well as home politics, that there is no just power except that which is based upon the consent of the governed.

But what are we to do with this principle when we come to the dependencies? Is another and different principle to be adopted here? Are there indeed peoples whom it is just to rule without their consent? Is justice one thing in England and Canada and another thing in India? It is the belief and conviction that what is justice in England and Canada is justice everywhere, that made Froude declare, "Free nations cannot govern subject provinces."

III

Why is England in India at all? Why did she go there at first and why does she remain? If India had been a comparatively empty land as America was when it was discovered, so that Englishmen had wanted to settle there and make homes, the reason would have been plain. But it was a land already full, and as a matter of fact practically no Englishmen have ever gone to India to settle or make home. If the Indian people had been savages or barbarians, there might have seemed on the sur-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

face of the question, some reason for England's conquering and ruling them. But they were a people with a highly organized government far older than that of Great Britain, and with a civilization that had risen to a splendid development before England's was born.

Said Lord Curzon, while Viceroy of India, in his address in the Great Delhi Durbar in 1901, "Powerful Empires existed and flourished here (in India) while Englishmen were still wandering, painted, in the woods, and while the British Colonies were still a wilderness and a jungle. India has left a deeper mark upon the history, the philosophy, and the religion of mankind, than any other terrestrial unit in the universe." It is such a land that England has conquered and is ruling as a dependency. It is such a people that she is holding without giving them any voice whatever in their own destiny. The honored Canadian Premier, Sir Wilfred Laurier, at the Colonial Conference held in London in connection with the coronation of King Edward, declared: "The Empire of Rome was composed of slave states; the British Empire is a galaxy of free nations." But is India a free nation? Lord Curzon declared in his Durbar address at Delhi, that the "principal condition of the

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

strength of the British throne is the possession of the Indian Empire, and the faithful attachment and service of the Indian people." Do these statesmen reflect that it is virtually a slave-empire of which they are so proud; that the great Indian nation, civilized, trustworthy, law-abiding, which comprises more than two-thirds of the entire population of their empire, has no freedom, I mean real freedom, freedom to rule itself, or to take its rightful place among the great nations of the world?

Perhaps there is nothing so dangerous or so evil in its effects, as irresponsible power. That is what Great Britain exercises in connection with India—absolute power, with no one to call her to account. I do not think any nation is able to endure such an ordeal any better than is Britain, but it is an ordeal to which neither rulers of nations nor individuals in private life should ever be subjected. The risks are too great. England avoids it in connection with her own rulers, by making them strictly responsible to the English people. The rulers of Canada are responsible to the Canadian people. Every free nation safeguards alike its people and its rulers by making its rulers answerable in everything to those whom

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

they govern. But here is the anomaly of British rule in India—Britain rules India but does not acknowledge any degree whatever of responsibility to the people of India.

What is the result? Are the interests and rights of India protected? Is it possible for the rights of any people to be protected without self-rule? I invite Americans to come with me to India and see. What we find there will go far towards furnishing a key to the meaning of the present movement for freedom and self-government.

IV

Crossing over from this side to London, we sail from there to India on a magnificent steamer. On board is a most interesting company of people, made up of merchants, travellers, and especially Englishmen who are either officials connected with the Indian Government or officers in the Indian army, who have been home on furlough with their families and are now returning. We land in Bombay, a city that reminds us of Paris or London, or New York or Washington. Our hotel is conducted in English style. We go to the railway station, one of the most magnificent buildings of the kind in the world, to take the

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

train for Calcutta—the most important city, and formerly the capital, some fifteen hundred miles away. Arrived in Calcutta, we hear it called the City of Palaces, nor do we wonder at the name.

Who own the steamship line by which we came to India? The British. Who built that splendid railway station in Bombay? The British. Who built the railway on which we travelled to Calcutta? The British. To whom do these palatial buildings in Calcutta belong? Mainly to the British. We find that both Calcutta and Bombay have a large commerce. To whom does the overwhelming bulk of this commerce belong? To the British. We find that the Indian Government, that is, the British government in India, has directly or indirectly built 36,000 miles or more of railway in India; has created good postal and telegraph systems reaching practically throughout the country; has established or assisted in establishing many schools, colleges, hospitals and other institutions of public benefit; has to some extent promoted sanitation; has founded law-courts after the English pattern, and has done much else to bring India in line with the civilization of Europe. It is not strange that visitors begin to exclaim—"How much the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

British are doing for India!" "How great a benefit to the people of India British rule is!" And in a degree this is true. British rule has done many things for India, for some of which India itself is grateful.

But have we seen all? Is there no other side? Have we probed to the underlying facts, the foundations upon which all this material acquisition is based? Are these signs of prosperity which we have noticed, signs of the prosperity of the Indian people, or only of their English masters? If the English are living in ease and luxury, how are the people of the land living? Who pays for these fine buildings that the British rulers of the land occupy and take the credit for? Do the British? Or are they paid for out of the taxes of perhaps the most poverty-stricken people in the world? Who pays for all these railways? Have we been away at all from the beaten track of tourist travel? Have we been out among the Indian people themselves, in the country as well as in the cities? Nearly nine-tenths of the people of India are "ryots"—small farmers who derive their sustenance directly from the land. Have we taken the trouble to find out how they live, whether they are growing better off or poorer year by year?

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

Especially, have we looked into the causes of those famines, the most terrible known to the modern world, which have long swept like a besom of heath over India, with their black shadows, plague and pestilence, following in their wake? Here is a side of India with which we must become acquainted, before we can understand the true situation in India. The great disturbing, portentous, all-overshadowing fact connected with the history of India in recent years has been the succession of these famines, and the consequent plague-epidemics.

V

What do these famines mean? Here is a picture from a recent book written by a distinguished British civilian who has had long service in India and knows the Indian situation from the inside. Since he is an Englishman, we may safely count upon his prejudices, if he has any, being upon the side of his own countrymen. Mr. W. S. Lilly, in his "India and Its Problems", writes as follows:—

"During the first eighty years of the nineteenth century, 18,000,000 of the Indian people perished of famine. In one year alone—the year when Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, assumed the title of Empress,—5,000,000 of the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

people of Southern India were starved to death. In the District of Bellary, with which I am personally acquainted—a region twice the size of Wales—one-fourth of the whole population perished in the famine of 1876-77. I shall never forget my own famine experience; how, as I rode out on horseback, morning after morning, I passed crowds of wandering skeletons, and saw human corpses by the roadside, unburied, uncared for, half devoured by dogs and vultures; and how—still sadder sight—children, ‘the joy of the world’ as the old Greeks deemed them, had become its ineffable sorrow there, forsaken even by their mothers, their feverish eyes shining from hollow sockets, their flesh utterly wasted away, only gristle and sinew and cold shivering skin remaining, their heads mere skulls, their puny frames full of loathesome diseases engendered by the starvation in which they had been conceived and born and nurtured—the sight, the thought of them haunts me still.” Everyone who has been in India in famine-times, and has left the beaten track of western-made prosperity, knows how true a picture this is.

Mr. Lilly estimates the number of famine-deaths in the first eight decades of the last century at 18,000,000. • Think what this means

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

—within a little more than two generations as many people died from lack of food as the whole population of Canada, New England, and the City and State of New York; nearly half as many as the whole population of France! But the most startling aspect of the case appears in the fact that the famines increased in number and severity as the century went on. Suppose we divide the last century into quarters, periods of twenty-five years each. In the first quarter there were five famines, with an estimated loss of 1,000,000 lives. During the second quarter of the century there were two famines with an estimated mortality of 500,000. During the third quarter there were six famines, with a recorded loss of life of 5,000,000. And during the last quarter of the century—what do we find? Eighteen famines, with an estimated mortality reaching the awful total of from 15,000,000 to 26,000,000. And this does not include the many more millions (over 6,000,000 in a single year) kept alive by government doles.

As a matter of fact famines are really perpetual in India. They exist when they are not reported by the Government at all, and when the world knows nothing of their existence. Even when the rains are plentiful and

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

crops are good, there is always famine somewhere in the land, taking its toll of thousands and even millions of human lives, of which we read nothing in any Government statement, and of which we know only when we see it with our own eyes. Millions of the people of India who are reported by the British Government as dying of fever, dysentery and other similar diseases, really perish as the result of emaciation from this long and terrible lack of food, this endless starvation. Where epidemics appear, such as plague and influenza, depletion from life-long starvation is the main cause of the terrible mortality.

VI

What is the explanation of all this terrible and persistent famine, seen and unseen,—this famine, part of it reported under its true name, part under some other name, but most of it not reported at all ?

The common answer is, the failure of the rains. But there seems to be no evidence that the rains fail now any oftener or in greater extent than they did a hundred years ago. Moreover, why should failure of rains bring famine? It is a matter of indisputable fact that the rains have never failed in India over

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

areas so extensive as to prevent the production of ample food for the entire population. Why then, have the people starved? Never because there was any real lack of food. Never because there was any lack of food even in the famine areas, brought by railways or otherwise within easy reach of all. There has always been plenty of food raised in India, even in the worst famine years, for those who had money to buy it with. And until during the world-war, the price of food in India has been quite moderate. This is the report of two different British Commissions that have carefully investigated the matter. Why then, have all these millions of people died for want of food?

Because they were so indescribably poor. All candid and thorough investigation into the causes of the famines of India has shown that the chief and fundamental cause has been and is the poverty of the people—a poverty so severe and terrible that it keeps the entire population on the very verge of starvation even in the years of greatest plenty, prevents them from laying up anything against times of extremity, and hence leaves them when their crops fail, absolutely undone—with nothing between them and death unless some form of charity comes to their aid. Says Sir Charles

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Elliott, long the Chief Commissioner of Assam, "Half the agricultural population do not know from one half-year's end to another what it is to have a full meal." Said the Honorable G. K. Gokhale, one of the Viceroy's Council, "From 60,000,000 to 70,000,000 of the people in India do not know what it is to have their hunger satisfied even once in a year."

Nor does there seem to be any improvement. Indeed, Mahatma Gandhi and the Rev. C. F. Andrews, witnesses of the most competent and trustworthy character, have both recently given it as their judgment that to-day the people of India are growing steadily poorer.

VII

Here we get a glimpse of the real India. It is not the India which the usual traveller sees, following the common routes of travel, stopping at the leading hotels conducted after the manner of London or Paris, and mingling with the English lords of the country. It is not the India to which the British "point with pride" and tell us about in their books of description and their commercial reports. But this is India from the inside, it is the India of the Indian people, of the men, women

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

and children to whom the country of right belongs, who pay the taxes and bear the burdens, and support the costly government carried on by foreigners. It is the India of the men, women and children who do the starving when the famine comes. It is the India of the men and women who are now struggling for their independence, as their only hope of ever getting rid of the exploitation of their country, and therefore of their poverty and misery.

What causes this awful and growing poverty of the Indian people? Said John Bright: "If a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, yet notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the government of that country."

VIII

One cause of India's impoverishment is heavy taxation. Taxation in England and Scotland is high, so high that Englishmen and Scotchmen complain bitterly even in normal times, times of peace. But the people of India are taxed more than twice as heavily as the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

people of England and more than three times as heavily as Scotland. Said Mr. Cathcart Watson, M. P., in the British House of Commons, "We know that the percentage of the taxes in India, as related to the gross product, is more than double that of any other country." But high taxation in such countries as Scotland and England and America does not cause a tithe of the suffering that it does in India, because the incomes of the people in these countries are so very much greater than are the incomes of the Indian people. Herbert Spencer in his day protested indignantly against "the pitiless taxation which wrings from the poor Indian ryots nearly half the product of their soil." Yet the taxation now is higher than in Spencer's day. No matter how great the distress, taxes go up and up.

Notice a single item, the tax on salt. All civilized nations recognise that salt is one of the last things in the world that should be taxed in any country, for two reasons; first, because it is everywhere a "necessity of life" and therefore nothing should be done to deprive the people of a proper quantity of it; and second, because in the very nature of the case a tax on it falls most heavily on the very poor. But it is a tax which is easily

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

collected, and which if fixed high is sure to produce a large revenue, because everybody must have salt or die. And so it has been the fixed policy of Government to impose a heavy salt tax upon the Indian people. During much of the past this tax has been so high as actually to compel the reduction of the quantity of salt consumed by the impoverished millions of the country to less than one half the amount declared by the medical authorities to be necessary for health. And now what do we see? In 1922, in spite of the health requirements of the country, and in the face of the most earnest protest of practically the whole Indian nation, the Government (heralded to the world as a "Reform" Government) actually doubled the salt tax.

IX

Another cause of India's impoverishment is the destruction of her manufactures as a result of British rule. When the British first appeared on the scene, India was one of the richest countries of the world; indeed, it was her great riches that attracted the British to her shores. The source of her wealth was largely her splendid manufactures. Her cotton goods, silk goods, shawls, muslins of Dacca,

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

brocades of Ahmedabad, rugs, pottery of Scind, jewelry, metal work, and lapidary work, were famed not only all over Asia, but in all the leading markets of North Africa and Europe. What has become of those manufactures? For the most part they are utterly gone, destroyed. Hundreds of villages and towns of India in which these industries were carried on are now wholly depopulated, and millions of the people who were supported by this work have been scattered and driven back on the land, to share the already too scanty living of the poor ryot. What is the explanation? Great Britain wanted India's markets. She could not find entrance for British manufactures so long as India was supplied with manufactures of her own. So those of India must be sacrificed. England had all power in her hands, and so she proceeded to pass tariff and excise laws that ruined the manufactures of India and secured this market for the manufactures of Manchester and Birmingham. India could not retaliate with counter tariff laws, because she was at the mercy of the conqueror.

X

A third cause of India's impoverishment is the enormous and wholly unnecessary cost of

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

her government. Writers in discussing the financial situation in India have often pointed out the fact that her Government is the most expensive in the world. Of course the reason is plain: it is because it is a government carried on by men from a distant country, not by the people of the soil. These foreigners, having all power in their own hands, including power to create such offices as they choose and to attach to them such salaries as they see fit, naturally do not err on the side of making the offices too few, or the salaries and pensions too small. Nearly all the higher officials throughout India are British. To be sure, the Civil Service is nominally open to Indians. But it is hedged about with so many restrictions (among others, Indian young men being required to make the journey of seven thousand miles to London to take their examinations), that Indians are able for the most part to secure only the lowest and poorest places. The amount of money which the Indian people are required to pay as salaries to this great army of foreign civil servants and appointed higher officials, and then, later, as pensions for the same after they have served a given number of years in India, is very large. That in three-fourths if not in nine-tenths of the positions,

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

quite as good service, and often much better, could be obtained for the government at a fraction of the present cost, by employing educated and competent Indians, who much better understand the wants of the country, is demonstrably and incontrovertibly true. But that would not serve the purpose of England, who wants these lucrative offices for her sons. Hence poor Indian ryots must sweat and starve by the million, that an ever-growing army of foreign officials may have large salaries and fat pensions. And of course much of the money paid for these salaries and practically all paid for the pensions, goes permanently out of India.

XI

Another burden on the people of India which they ought not to be compelled to bear, and which does much to increase their poverty, is the enormously heavy military expense of the government. I am not complaining of the maintenance of such an army as may be necessary for the defence of the country. But the Indian army is kept at a strength much beyond what any possible defence of the country requires. India is made a sort of general rendezvous and training camp for the Empire,

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

from which soldiers may at any time be drawn for service in distant lands—in many parts of Asia, in Africa, in the islands of the sea, and even in Europe. If such an imperial training-camp and rendezvous is believed to be necessary, a part at least of its heavy expense should come from the Imperial Treasury. But no! India is helpless. She can be compelled to pay the whole amount, and she is so compelled. Many English statesmen recognize the injustice of this, and condemn it, but it goes right on. Said Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman : “ Justice demands that England should pay a portion of the cost of the great Indian army maintained in India for Imperial rather than Indian purposes. This has not yet been done, and famine-stricken India is being bled for the maintenance of England's world-wide Empire.”

Again, numerous wars and campaigns are carried on outside of India, expense for the conduct of which, wholly or in large part, India is compelled to bear. For such foreign wars and campaigns—in which India and the Indian people of India had no concern, from which they derived no benefit, the aim of which was solely conquest and extension of British power—India was required to pay during the last

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

century the enormous total of more than \$450,000,000. This does not include her expenditures in connection with the war in Europe in 1914-18. Toward the maintenance of that war India contributed 1,401,350 men—combatants and non-combatants. (These are official figures). She also paid—was compelled to pay, despite her awful poverty—the terrible sum of £ 100,000,000 (\$ 500,000,000). This was announced to the world as a ‘gift,’ but it was a gift only in name. As a matter of fact it was forced, coerced, wrung from the Indian people, as all India knows to its sorrow. Nor was this sum all, as the world generally supposes. Other sums were contributed from India (under pressure, virtual compulsion) in different forms, under different names, all taken together, totalling—it is claimed—almost another \$ 500,000,000. How many such burdens as these can the people of India, bear without being destroyed?

XII

England claims that India pays her no “tribute.” Technically this is true; but in reality it is very far from true. In the form of salaries spent largely in England, and pensions spent wholly there, interest drawn in

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

England from Indian investments, "profits" made in India and sent "Home," and various forms of "exploitation" carried on in India for the benefit of Englishmen and England, a vast stream of wealth (whether it is called tribute or not) has been pouring into England from India ever since the East India Company landed there some three hundred years ago, and is going on still with steadily increasing volume. Says Mr. R. C. Dutt, author of the "Economic History of India" (than whom there is no higher authority) "A sum reckoned at twenty millions of English money or a hundred millions of American money—some authorities put it much higher—is remitted annually from India to England without any direct equivalent. It should be borne in mind that this sum is equal to half the net revenues of India. Note this carefully—one-half of what we here in India pay every year in taxes goes out of the country and is of no further service to those who have paid this tax. No other country on earth suffers like this at the present day. No country on earth could bear such an annual drain without increasing impoverishment and repeated famines." We denounce ancient Rome for impoverishing Gaul and Egypt, Sicily and

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Palestine, to enrich herself. We denounce Spain for robbing the New World and the Netherlands to amass wealth. England is following exactly the same practice in India. Is it strange that under her rule she has made India a land of wide-spread and continuous famine?

XIII

But India's poverty, terrible as it is, is only a part of the wrong done to her by England. The greatest injustice of all is the loss of her liberty—the fact that she is allowed no part in shaping her own destiny. As we have seen, Canada and Australia are free and self-governing. India is kept in absolute subjection. Yet her people are largely of Aryan blood, the finest race in Asia. There are not wanting men among them, men in great numbers, who are the equals of their British masters in knowledge, ability, trustworthiness, in every high quality. Not only is such treatment of such a people tyranny in its worst form (as many Englishmen are gradually coming to realize) but it is a direct and complete violation of all those ideals of freedom and justice of which England boasts and in which Englishmen profess to believe,

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

It is also really a most short-sighted policy as regards England's own interests. It is the kind of policy which cost her the American colonies, and later came near to costing her Canada, as well. If persisted in, it must cost her India also.

XIV

What is the remedy for the evils and burdens under which the Indian people are suffering? How may they be relieved from their abject and growing poverty? How can they be given prosperity, happiness and content?

Many answers are suggested. One is—lighter taxes. This of course is important; it is, indeed, vital. But how can it be brought about so long as the people have no power to change in the slightest degree the cruel tax laws from which they suffer? The Government wants these heavy taxes for its own uses, and is constantly increasing the rates. The protests of the people fall on deaf ears. Taxes were never so high as they are now. Under the Government's so-called "New Reform Scheme" they are not lowered, but increased.

Another remedy suggested for India's

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

suffering is that of enacting such legislation and inaugurating such measures as may be found necessary to restore as far as possible the native industries which have been destroyed. This is exactly what India would like, and would bring about if she had power—if she had self-rule; but will an alien government, one which has itself destroyed these industries for its own advantage, ever do this? Another remedy proposed is to reduce the unnecessary and illegitimate military expenses. This is easy to say, and of course is most reasonable. But how can it be brought about so long as the Government insists on such expenditures, and the people have no power to order the contrary?

Another thing urged is to stop the drain of wealth by England. But how can a single step be taken in this direction of stopping it, so long as absolutely all power is in the hands of the very men who created the drain, who are enriched by it, and who are determined to continue it?

It all comes back to this:—The fundamental difficulty, the fundamental evil, the fundamental wrong, lies in the fact that India is a subject land, politically a slave land, ruled by foreigners. It is for this reason that she is

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

unable to guard her own interests, unable to protect herself against unjust laws, unable to inaugurate those measures for her own advancement which must always come from those immediately concerned.

XV

In other words, the only remedy for India's wrongs, her economic ills and her political degradation is that which in all ages of the world and in all lands has been found to be the only possible remedy for the evils of foreign rule, and that is, the self-rule, which India is demanding. England knows this, and would perish before she would permit any foreign nation to rule her. Every nation in Europe knows it and hence every one would fight to the death before it would surrender its freedom and independence. Canada, Australia, and New England know it; therefore, although they are all children of Great Britain, not one of them would consent to remain in the British Empire unless permitted absolute freedom to make and administer its own laws, and therefore to protect itself and shape its own destiny.

Here lies India's only hope. She must become an absolutely independent nation with no connection with Great Britain, or else remain

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

ning in the Empire, she must be given the place of a real partner (not that of a subordinate under a partner's name),—a place of as true freedom and of as perfect equality with the other partners in the Empire, as that of Australia, or New Zealand, or South Africa, or Canada.

We have now before us the data for understanding, in a measure at least, the meaning of India's struggle for freedom (for Swaraj, to use her own word), as that struggle presents itself to one who has studied it long and with care and who is a warm and sincere friend both of India and Great Britain. As he sees the struggle, it means the normal, necessary and just awakening and protest of a great people too long held in subjection. It is the effort of a nation once illustrious and still conscious of its inherent superiority, to rise from the dust, to stand once more upon its feet, to shake off fetters that have become unendurable. It is the endeavor of the Indian people to get for themselves again a country that in a true sense will be their own, instead of remaining—as for more than a century and a half it has been, a mere preserve of a foreign power—in John Stuart Mill's words, England's "cattle farm."

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

Is this endeavor just? Not only the Indian people themselves, but many of the best Englishmen and certainly many Americans, answer unequivocally, Yes!

CHAPTER II

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA?

WHY, in this age of the world, does any one for a moment question the right of any civilized nation to rule itself? And how can any intelligent mind believe that any civilized nation can be ruled better by strangers and foreigners than by its own people? To be more specific, why, in an age of enlightenment and freedom like ours, is the right and ability of great, civilized, historic India to rule itself, questioned by anybody?

Does any one doubt the right and ability of America to govern itself? or England? or France? or Russia? or Japan? or China? Then why India, whose civilization is far older than that of any of these nations, except possibly China, and which has ruled itself longer than any other unless it be China? Are not freedom and self-government the right of every civilised people? And in the very

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

nature of the case is not every civilised people far better able to govern itself than any other can possibly be to govern it ?

I

Who is it that says the Indian people are not capable of self-government ? Is it the Indian people themselves ? No. They declare the contrary. They say they have proved by more than three thousand years of history their ability to rule themselves. Is it any friendly neighboring people who have had long association and dealings with them, and who therefore can judge with intelligence and reasonable fairness ? Not at all. No neighbouring nation, so far as is known, doubts their fitness for self-government. Is it an authoritative commission of intelligent, impartial and competent men selected from different disinterested nations, who have visited India, studied conditions there in all parts of the land, acquainted themselves thoroughly with the Indian people, their history, their civilization, their character, their ability, what they have done in the past and their needs to-day ? Oh no !

Who is it, then, that presumes to declare anything so improbable, so unreasonable, so

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

contrary to the whole experience of mankind, as that a great historic, civilized nation, compared with which all the nations of Europe are parvenus, is incapable of self-rule, and needs to be governed by strangers coming from the other side of the world ?

The nation that declares this, is the one which, of all the nations in the world, is the least capable of judging fairly and justly in the matter, because it is an interested, a deeply interested, party. It is the nation which, some two centuries ago, not by right, but by force of arms, and for selfish ends, conquered the Indian people, and ever since has been holding them in subjection, because thus she secured and continues to possess increased political power and prestige in the world, large commercial and industrial advantage, much financial profit, and high and lucrative official positions, with fat pensions, for her sons. It is this nation (which rules India and is so deeply interested to continue her rule) that tells the world that the Indian people are incapable of ruling themselves. But, pray, what else can she be expected to tell the world ? How else can she justify herself for staying in India ?

This testimony, then, of a deeply interest-

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

ed, and therefore of course a deeply prejudiced party, is the evidence we have, and practically all we have, that India is not capable of self-rule.

II

On what *principle* or by what *test* is India adjudged unfit for self-rule? We declare individual persons unfit to govern themselves only for one of four reasons, namely, (1) if they are minors, or (2) if they are idiots, or (3) if they are insane, or (4) if they are criminals. Let us apply these tests to India.

1. Are the Indian people minors? Can we call those people minors who have the oldest civilization on earth as their heritage?

2. Are the Indian people idiots? Mr. H. G. Wells, himself an Englishman, tells us that of the six greatest men in the entire history of this world, India has produced two—Gautama Buddha and the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka. Does this look like idiocy?

3. Are the Indian people insane? Nobody says that. An idiotic nation does not produce Buddhas and Asokas and Rabindranath Tagores.

4. Are the people of India criminals? On the contrary, they are as law-abiding as any

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

nation in the world ; indeed they are probably the *most* law-abiding great nation in existence. India's crime record, in proportion to her population, is distinctly lower than that of Great Britain, or that of any large nation on the Continent of Europe, and much lower than that of the United States.

If a nation which can stand these four tests is not fit to rule itself, what nation is ?

It would seem as if the only reason anybody could possibly suggest why India ought not to be permitted to rule itself might be, that, with so large a population, it might be dangerous to smaller and weaker nations, by attacking and conquering them, or by aggressions upon them. But history shows that India has always been the least aggressive of nations. No other great nation, unless it may be China, has ever done so little in the way of attacking other peoples or carrying on wars outside of its own borders. There is ten times more reason to fear England's aggressions, or France's, or Russia's, or Italy's—in view of the past history of these nations. Indeed there is much more reason to fear America's, in view of our past history in connection with Mexico and the Philippines and the Central American States.

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

III

Said Abraham Lincoln: "There never was a people good enough to govern another people."

Is Great Britain an exception? Does she manage her own government so supremely well that she is entitled to undertake the political management of other nations? Then what mean her frequent upsetting of parties, and changes of ministries, and appeals to the electorate, with the hope of correcting past legislative and administrative mistakes and getting a wiser government? Are a people who at home thus "muddle along," groping their way blindly in political matters, and committing what they themselves confess are blunders on blunders, likely to become wise and skilled when they undertake to conduct the complicated political affairs of a distant foreign nation, about whose affairs and needs they are ten times more ignorant than they are about those of their own land?

If the men sent by England to India, to rule there, to fill all the chief government positions, national and provincial, to make and administer the laws, and to do all those things which the rulers of a great country are required to do, were superior to the Indian leaders who

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

are available for the same places and to do the same work, then there would be some excuse (or at least a greater approximation to an excuse) for British rule in India.

But while it is true that some of the Englishmen who go to India are excellent and able men, equal (but not superior) to the Indians with whom they are to be associated, it is also true that many of them are distinctly inferior. Largely they are the sons of well-to-do fathers who want "careers" for their boys, and who choose India because the service there is honorable and lucrative, and is made additionally attractive by its short duration (24 years, 4 of which may be spent on leave of absence) followed by large pensions for the rest of life.

Generally these prospective India officials come to India young, often very young, only just out of college, and enter at once upon the responsibilities of managing the affairs of a great foreign nation of which they know almost absolutely nothing. They are saved from utter disaster only by the fact that under them are placed efficient Indians who help them in their ignorance and do what they can to prevent fatal blunders.

It is the commonest thing to see Indian

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

scholars and officials of confessedly very high ability, of very fine training and of long experience, serving under these ignorant young Englishmen, who get all the honor, and draw salaries three or four times as large as any of their subordinates, and yet who in England would not be thought fit to fill a government or a business position above the second or even third class.

The fact is (the world is not allowed to know it, but the people of India know it to their sorrow) the ignorance concerning India of the ordinary Englishman who comes there to manage the vast, intricate and immensely important affairs of the Indian nation, would be in the highest degree ludicrous if it were not shocking.

IV

Englishmen themselves confess this. Sir Bamfylde Fuller, long a high official in India, declares in his book, "Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment": "Young British officials go out to India most imperfectly equipped for their responsibilities. They learn no law worth the name, a little Indian history, no political economy, and gain a smattering of one Indian vernacular. In regard to other branches of

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

the service, matters are still more unsatisfactory. Young men who are to be police officers are sent out with no training whatever, though for the proper discharge of their duties an intimate acquaintance with Indian life and ideas is essential. They land in India in absolute ignorance of the language. So also with forest officers, medical officers, engineers, and (still more surprising) educational officers ... It is hardly too much to say that this is an insult to the intelligence of the country."

There are few English officials of any rank, no matter how long they stay in India, who ever get a good knowledge of any Indian tongue. Even the Viceroy, as a rule, knows no native language when they go to India, and seldom during their stay do they acquire anything more than the merest smattering of any. Such contact with the people as they have is mostly second-hand, through English subordinates or through Indians who speak English.

Says, *The Pioneer*, of Allahabad, which is perhaps the leading British organ in Northern India, and which therefore can be trusted not to put the case against the British too strongly: "It may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that there are less than

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

a score of English civilians in these Provinces who could read unaided, with fair accuracy and rapidly, even a short article in a vernacular newspaper, or a short letter written in the vernacular : and those who are in the habit of doing this, or could do it with any sense of ease or pleasure, could be counted on the fingers of one hand."

Such are the men who fill the lucrative offices of India, and who rule the land because they are so much better fitted to do so than are the educated Indians !

V

We are often told, and told with much assurance, that the interests of the Indian people are safe, because they are carefully guarded by the British Parliament, especially by the House of Commons, that splendid group of 650 men representing the best intelligence and character of the British Isles. Of course such a body of men do not, will not and cannot neglect so grave a responsibility, so important a part of the Empire, as India, or fail to see that the Indian people are ruled honorably, efficiently and justly.

This sounds assuring. But what are the facts ? Does Parliament give careful attention

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

to India, or watchfully guard her rights? Indeed do the majority of the members of Parliament know anything more about India than a schoolboy, or pay any attention at all to Indian affairs, unless there is an insurrection or some other form of serious trouble there? How can they? India is so far away, and they are so overwhelmed with matters nearer home that must be attended to! When, at the fag end of a parliamentary session, a day is announced for discussion of Indian affairs, what happens? It is the signal for everybody to be absent who can possibly find an excuse. Says Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald in his book, "The Government of India" (pp. 43 and 51): "It must be admitted that Parliament has not been a just and watchful steward of India. It holds no debates on Indian questions; its seats are empty when it has its annual saunter through the Indian Budget... Very few members of Parliament have any real knowledge of Indian affairs, and there is a deserted House of Commons when the Indian Budget is under consideration." Writes Mr. Alfred Kinnear, M. P., "I recall thirty Indian Budget nights in the House of Commons. Scarcely one of the number drew an audience of fifty members—one eleventh

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

part of the membership." At a recent budget debate, when a matter of very great importance was up for discussion, there were present, by count, fourteen persons,—thirteen Liberals and one Tory. At another there were twenty present; at another, there were three on the Tory side and one on the Liberal. This shows how the great and honored (and 6,000 miles distant) British Parliament carefully guards the interests of the 320,000,000 people of India.

Let a single fact of a different nature be cited, which proves in a tragic manner how closely in touch with Indian affairs the British Parliament is. On the 19th of April, 1919, the shocking Amritsar massacre took place, in which British soldiers under command of a British General attacked a peaceful religious assembly in a public park, and shot down in cold blood (killing or wounding) more than 1,000 unarmed men, women and children. Did the British Parliament the very next day ring with hot protest and condemnation of the horrible transaction? Not exactly! It was more than seven months before the matter was even mentioned in Parliament. More amazing than that! Can it be believed? More than seven months elapsed after the horrible deed was done before Parliament *even knew*

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

what had happened! This makes entirely clear how well Parliament guards and watches over and protects India.

VI

I do not mean to convey the impression that I believe any other foreign nation would govern India better than England is doing. Possibly no other would govern it as well. But no nation in the world can rule another without awful injustice. Ruling a people without their consent is the deepest kind of injustice, and, in the nature of the case, out of it flow injustices and wrongs innumerable. Rob a nation or a man of liberty and every other safeguard is gone.

In my own extensive travels in India I found it common for Englishmen in all parts (there were of course honorable exceptions) to speak of and to treat the people of the country, no matter how intelligent or well educated or of how high character they might be, distinctly as inferiors. In travelling on the railways they were compelled to occupy inferior cars, by themselves. At the stations they must either remain out of doors or crowd into little rooms frequently hardly fit for cattle. I often heard them called "niggers". Not unfrequent-

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

ly I witnessed brutal treatment of them. In a large Bombay hotel I saw an English official belabor his servant unmercifully with his thick walking-stick, for some trivial offence—his servant, a fine looking, educated native, seemingly quite the equal of his master in intellectual ability, and infinitely his superior in all the qualities of a gentleman. I was constantly reminded of the way in which, in the days of American slavery, masters in the South (some masters) treated their slaves. Nor is all this strange; the spirit which holds a nation in subjection and that which holds individuals in bondage is the same spirit.

Says Professor Paul S. Reinsch in his work on "Colonial Government":—"The essential thought in dealing with native societies should be that they must on no account be deprived of their morale, and of their feeling of responsibility for their own destiny." Here England has failed absolutely and disastrously in her treatment of the Indian people. She has taken their destiny into her own hands. Politically she rules them wholly. Financially and industrially they feel that they are constantly at her mercy. The influence is to break their spirits. There is no incentive for ambition. Young men, no matter what their

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

talents or education, have little or nothing to look forward to. A situation more depressing it is hard to conceive. England tries to justify herself by the claim that she can rule the Indian people better than they can rule themselves. But who should be the judge ? This is the claim of tyranny the world over.

I am not disposed to lay to the charge of England base motives, other than selfishness, greed of wealth, greed of power, and lack of regard for the rights of other nations. But these have led to consequences serious enough to give pause to all but the most foolhardy.

VII

The surest way to destroy the physical strength of a man is to deprive him of the possibility of physical exercise. The most brilliant minds may be reduced to dullness, and the most powerful to weakness, by being deprived of opportunities for activity. Just so, there is no other way known so effectually to weaken and degrade a people as to deprive them of liberty and the power of self-direction. It is false to say that any people can govern another civilized people better than that other can govern itself. The highest end of government is not law ; it is not even order and peace.

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

These may be present under the most monstrous tyranny. The highest purpose of government is the creation of the capacity for self-government. The sufficient condemnation of all vassalage and of all government of weaker peoples by stronger is, that thus the weaker peoples are deprived of their right to plan for themselves, and thus to work out their own self-development.

This is something which the better minds of India feel very deeply. Especially is it felt by ambitious, earnest, educated young men, who want to make the most of their lives, who desire to do something for their communities and their country, and to become leaders in movements for social, industrial, educational, political and other reforms.

On every hand such young men are met by the fact that neither they nor the people are free. They are for ever under foreign masters. If they make plans for public improvements, their plans can come to nothing without the assent and co-operation of the Government, because it has all power. The very fact that the plans are initiated and carried on by Indians—by “natives,” is very likely to be regarded as a sufficient reason why the Government should ignore or oppose them.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

The Government wants it understood that it never follows "native" lead, it never welcomes, or, if it can help it, even tolerates, native initiative. That would lower its dignity. That would destroy its "prestige." The government stands on the lofty height not only of supreme power, but of supreme wisdom, and it cannot stoop to be instructed or directed, even to have suggestions made to it, by the inferior people of the land, who of course do not know what is good for them or what the country requires.

Thus initiative on the part of the people is chilled and killed. They soon learn to say, "What is the use?" Educated young men, who, in free lands where the people have a voice, would look forward to influential public life, to careers of public usefulness and service, to doing something of value for their country, in India have little or no such possibility before them. They have no country. The English rule it, monopolize it, treat the Indians as strangers and foreigners in it. King George calls it, "My Indian Empire." And when Indians presume to interest themselves in public matters and make suggestions as to reforms and improvements which in any way touch politics, they at once find themselves in

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

danger of being arrested and sent to prison as pestilent "agitators" and "seditionists"; or if they escape that, then they are likely either to be ignored, receiving no co-operation and no encouragement from the superior powers, or else they get the virtual reply: "Mind your own business. Who are you, that you presume to teach us how to manage this country?" Sir Henry Cotton tells us that the British policy in India has always been to discourage, and so far as possible to suppress, native ability and native initiative. He tells us of hearing Sir William Harcourt say in a speech in the House of Commons: "The Government of India have never encouraged men of ability and force of character. They have always hated and discouraged independent and original talent, and have always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity. This policy they have inherited from the Roman Tarquinius Superbus. Although they have not actually 'cut off the heads' of the 'tall poppies,' they have taken other and more merciful means of 'removing' any persons of dangerous political eminence."†

† "Indian and Home Memories". Chapter XXI.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

VIII

I shall never forget an experience I once had in Poona. I was there attending the session of the Indian National Congress. One afternoon I went out for a stroll with a company of young men who were students in the Ferguson College. After walking an hour or so we all sat down under a great tree for a long talk. They were keen-minded, earnest fellows, all of them desirous of making something worth while of their lives, and all ambitious to serve their country. But in a land where everything was in the hands of foreign masters, how could they do either? If, ignoring their country's needs and forgetting her sorrows, they would consent to be docile servants of their alien rulers, shaping their education so as to fit themselves for employment as clerks, accountants and subordinate helpers of one kind or another in the offices of the Government or of British merchants, then places would be opened for them where they could gain at least a meagre living, with the hope of some slight advancement later, and thus their paths for the future would probably be fairly smooth.

But if, standing on their own feet as men, they determined to shape for themselves in-

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

dependent careers, and to make their lives of real service to the land they loved,—what was there for them? This was the pathetic, the tragic question, asked by all those young men, again and again and again. The government had many low positions—too low to be accepted by Englishmen—to offer them, and a very few fairly high ones. But all persons permitted to occupy these positions must give up their patriotism and their manhood, keep out of politics, be loyal to the alien Government, that is, must not criticise it or advocate any reforms, and be dumb and docile servants and satellites of their British lords. Could these earnest, patriotic, splendid young sons of India, of the holy “Mother” whom they loved and worshipped, stoop to this humiliation and this shame ?

Alas ! that afternoon I realized as I never had done before how bitter, bitter a thing it is for educated young men, in whose breasts burn the fires of a patriotism as true and as holy as was ever felt by Englishman or American, to know that they have no country, to realize that their country, as dear to them as their lives, has been taken by force, and is held in subjection by the sword of the foreigner !

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

IX

This Poona experience suggests that one of the great evils of British rule in India is its influence in crushing out the native genius of the Indian people,—thus robbing not only India but also mankind of something very precious. There is nothing in the world that is of higher value, and therefore that should be more sedulously guarded than genius—the peculiar genius of nations and of races; and there is nothing which when destroyed is a more serious or a more irreparable loss.

Who can estimate how great would have been the disaster to humanity, if, by foreign domination or otherwise, the genius of Greece had been cut off before it reached its splendid flowering in art and literature?

I will not compare the genius of India with that of Greece, although some eminent scholars both in Europe and America, have done so. But I will say, what no one will deny, that no nation in Asia has shown in the past so rich and splendid intellectual and spiritual genius as India has manifested in many forms and throughout many centuries. That genius should be preserved, fostered, and developed, not only for the sake of the Indian people, but

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

for mankind's sake, for civilization's sake, as a precious contribution to the world's higher life.

How can this be done? What is the indispensable condition of the efflorescence, nay of the very existence of genius anywhere? It is freedom. But India is not free. This is her calamity; it is also the world's calamity. So long as she continues to be humiliated, disgraced, crippled, emasculated by being held in bondage to a foreign power, by being robbed of her proper place among the nations, by being deprived of the right to direct herself and shape her own career, it will be impossible, in the very nature of things, for her genius to rise to its best, or anything like its best, and thus for her to make that important intellectual and spiritual contribution to the world's civilization that her past history gives the world the right to expect and demand. Thus we see that India's freedom is a matter of concern not to herself alone, but to mankind. Her bondage is a world-disaster—a crime against the world's higher life.

X

One thought more before I conclude this chapter.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Whenever the right of the Indian people to rule themselves is urged upon Englishmen, whether in India or in England, the reply likely to be made is, Yes, what you say is probably theoretically right. But you know we must be practical. Of course India is not ready for self rule now: she may be by and by but not for a very long time. Indeed we have ultimate self-government for her in mind, and are educating her for it. That is what the New Reform Scheme (the New Government of India Act) of 1919 means. But we must "go slow," "very slow"! We must proceed safely; we must take no false steps. To allow her to attempt to govern herself before she is fully fitted for it—before we have got her fully trained—would be very disastrous.

I discuss this subject to some extent in other chapters, but I wish here to consider one aspect of it by quoting from two eminent students of history and government some brief observations which I think some Indians and perhaps some Englishmen may be glad to have called to their attention. They present reasons for believing that the only way to learn to swim is to go into the water.

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

XI

The first quotation is from the brilliant and eminent German-American statesman, Carl Schurz. Mr. Schurz was a General in the Union army during the American Civil War, a member of the Cabinet of President Cleveland (Secretary of the Interior), and for many years one of the nation's most honored and influential writers and public leaders.

In connection with his office of Secretary of the Interior he had large experience with the immigrants who at that time were coming to America in great numbers from lands of the Old World where they had been given no opportunities for self-government. How could they be made valuable citizens in a democracy—a nation where there was self rule? In his "Reminiscences" (Vol. II, pp. 77—80) he says : "One of the most interesting experiences of my life was the observation of the educational influence exercised upon men by the actual practice of self-government." Persons attempting to exercise self-government for the first time, he declares, "may do it somewhat clumsily in the beginning and make grievous mistakes, but these very mistakes, with their disagreeable consequences, will serve to sharpen

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

the wits of those who desire to learn—which every person of average intelligence who feels himself responsible for his own interests desires to do. In other words, practice upon one's own responsibility is the best if not the only school of self-government. What is sometimes called the art of self-government is not learned by masses of people theoretically, nor even by the mere presentation of other people's experiences by way of instructive example. Practice is the only really effective teacher. Other methods of instruction will rather retard, if not altogether prevent, the development of the self-governing capacity, because they will serve to weaken the sense of responsibility and self-reliance. This is why there is not any instance in history of a people having been successfully taught to govern themselves by a tutelary power acting upon the principle that its wards should not be given the power of self-government until they had shown themselves fit for it. Such teaching of self-government by a superior authority is but seldom undertaken in good faith, the teacher usually not wishing to relinquish his power. But even when it is undertaken in good faith, the teacher is usually disinclined to recognize at any time that the pupil is able

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

to stand on his own feet, and this for apparently good reasons ; for the pupil will either have no chance to demonstrate his capacity, or if he be permitted to experiment on a limited scale, he will, of course, make mistakes, and these mistakes will serve as proofs of his incapacity, while in fact the freedom to make mistakes and to suffer from their consequences is the very school from which he might receive the most effective instruction..." "It is simply impossible to overestimate the importance of self-government as an educator."

XII

The other quotation I wish to make, is from the American historian and scholar, Charles Francis Adams. Speaking before the American Historical Association in 1901, this man of candour and of large learning said : "I submit that there is not an instance in all recorded history, from the earliest times until now, where a so-called inferior race or community has been elevated in its character, or made self-sustaining or self-governing, or even put on the way to that result, through a condition of dependency or tutelage. I might, without much danger, assert that the condition of dependency, even for communities of the same

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

race and blood, always exercises an emasculating and deteriorating influence. I would undertake, if called upon, to show that this rule is invariable—that from the inherent and fundamental conditions of human nature, it has known, and can know, no exceptions. This truth I could demonstrate from almost innumerable examples.”

And Mr. Adams proceeded to make a direct application of this truth to India and declared in the most unequivocal terms that notwithstanding any or all material or other improvements made in the country by the British during the three hundred years and more since the East India Company began its exploitation and conquest of the land, British rule had been an absolute failure as a means for increasing the capacity or fitness of the Indian people for self-government,—it had not increased that capacity or that fitness in the slightest degree; but on the contrary it had actually lessened it. And he held that there was no ground for believing that it would or could ever have any other effect. It was not by subjection or tutelage to another nation—no matter what that nation might be,—but by the very opposite, by freedom, by actual practice of self-government, by experience, by

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

making mistakes and learning wisdom from the same—it was by this method and no other that all capacity for self-government has been obtained in the past and must be obtained forever. It was by this method that India learned 3,000 years ago to rule herself, and had continued one of the great self-ruling nations of the world until Great Britain robbed her of her nationhood. And what she needs now is simply “hands off” on the part of her foreign conqueror, so that her native capacity for self-rule, which Mr. Adams held has been weakened by British dominance, but by no means destroyed, may again, as in the past, come into activity and therefore into growth, normal development and permanent strength.

CHAPTER III

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ? (*Contd.*)

II

ONE of the arguments [oftenest used in justification of British rule in India, is the large number of nationalities, peoples and tribes found there, and especially the large number of languages spoken. One British writer urges the need of British rule by telling us that there are 130 different languages in India, another says 170, another 185; and by including minute variations and dialects the number has been even swelled to more than 200.

But why do these numbers (or why should numbers even ten times as great?) make it necessary for the land to be ruled by foreigners and strangers? The need would seem to be just the opposite. Are men born and reared in distant countries, who are without knowledge of these various Indian peoples, who are ignor-

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

ant of their institutions, customs and needs, and who are unable to speak one of their languages, better fitted to govern them—govern them wisely and safely—than are their own intelligent and trusted leaders, born and educated among them, having life-long knowledge of their institutions, habits and wants and able to speak their tongues? Such a claim is amazing. And yet we hear it constantly made by the British, and repeated parrot-like in America.

I

The existence of many languages in India is no more an argument against Home Rule there, and no more a proof of the need of foreign rule than is the existence of many languages in other countries than India a proof that those countries should be ruled by foreigners. Turn from India to Russia.

During all her later history Russia has had more languages, and also more races and tribes and nationalities, than India, yet nobody has contended that therefore Russia was incapable of self-government and ought to have been conquered and held in subjection by a foreign power.

As a fact the United States of America

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

has more languages and more nationalities than India. In order to get any such numbers of Indian tongues as we are told that India possesses, there have to be included the languages and dialects of all the small and unimportant hill and mountain and jungle tribes that live in remote and often almost inaccessible places,—similar to the small tribes of our American Red Indians. In the United States we have people from all the nations of South and Central America, from all the nations of Europe, from nearly or quite all those of Asia, Africa and the principal islands of the sea. Now count the languages of all these, and to them add the tongues spoken by our own Red Indian tribes, and it is easy to understand the truth of the statement that we have more languages in this country than has India. But does anybody believe it necessary, on this account, for some nation beyond the sea, say Japan or Russia or France or England, to conquer and govern us ?

Canada would hardly like to have the claim made that it is unfit to govern itself because of its many languages, nationalities and religions. Yet according to recent statistics Canada has 178 languages, 53 nationalities, and 79 religious faiths. That is to say, con-

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

sidering the number of its population, Canada has a greater diversity of languages (as well as nationalities and religions) than has India. Yet Canada rules itself and has done so for much more than half a century with great efficiency.

The great state of Bengal in India has more than 50,000,000 population, and one main language, with a fine literature. Why then should not Bengal have Home Rule? Most of the other great Indian states have a single main language, of a high order, which is the vernacular of nearly the entire population. Why should not all these great states—states equal in size and population to France and England and Italy, and possessed of a civilization hardly less high—why should not they all have self rule?

Why do not Englishmen, who urge that India is unable to govern itself and must be ruled by the British because of its diversity of tongues and peoples, apply the same principle to their own empire as a whole? The British Empire contains all the diversities of every kind that are found in India, and at least two or three times as many more. Do Englishmen think that therefore they are unfit to rule their Empire, and that it ought to be ruled by some outside power?

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

The fact is, this whole argument regarding India is hollow, is something devised in order to furnish seeming justification for Great Britain's remaining in a country where, for selfish reasons, she wants to remain, but where she has no right to be. It is strange that any sane mind can fail to see instantly that the greater the number of peoples and languages in India (or in any other country) the stronger becomes the reason why it should be ruled not by foreigners but by its *own sons*, who know most about these languages and peoples.

II

The argument is made by many Englishmen that these diversities of language, race, and so forth, in India, destroy her *unity*, make it incorrect to think or speak of India as *one*, or as a *nation* at all: and for *this* reason she cannot govern herself.

This argument, which is accepted as true by many who do not know India, has been answered many times over, and with great thoroughness, by Indian scholars, who have shown that, notwithstanding all the diversities that have been mentioned, and deep down below them all, India is one, profoundly one,—that as a fact she has a unity older and more

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA?

fundamental than that of any other country or people or nation in the world with the possible exception of China. My space does not allow me to repeat the able and conclusive arguments and arrays of facts presented by these scholars in support of this contention. Nor perhaps is it necessary.

III

I will, however, call attention to an important matter in this connection; and that is, the very widespread *belief in India* that the *British deny Indian unity largely because they do not want India to have unity* (their denial being based on their wish). Certain it is, that nearly everywhere, particularly among the more intelligent classes, the feeling exists that there is no such other great foe to Indian unity as the British Government, that nothing else has done or is doing so much to prevent it, that throughout their whole career in India the British have fostered differences between the different races and between the different religions, particularly between Hindus and Mohammedans,—fearing the strength that comes from unity, and desiring to promote the weakness that comes from division,—on the old Roman principle of *divide et impera* (do all

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

you can to divide peoples whom you desire to rule, thus you can more easily control them). Scores of illustrations could easily be pointed out of this constant policy practised by the British rulers of the land, of fostering divisions and hindering unity so as to render their task easier of holding the people in subjection. And then they solemnly declare to the world that one of the strong reasons why they feel it their duty to remain in India is that the Indian people are so much divided: their unfortunate and regrettable lack of unity renders it absolutely necessary for them to be ruled by some foreign power, and if by any, of course by Britain.

IV

Another somewhat closely related argument much used by Englishmen, to justify their retention of India, is the *danger* to the *Indian people* which they declare would be involved in *their leaving*,—the danger of "*universal chaos, anarchy and bloodshed*." Travelling in India one finds British officials on every hand saying to him: "If we withdrew to-morrow India would run with blood from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." Travelling in England one finds Englishmen saying the same.

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA?

But think what such statements mean. Think what a condemnation of British rule they really are. Think what a confession there is involved in them of the failure of that rule! The British have been in India 160 years. That is, for such a period of time they have been governing a great civilized people who for 3,000 years had ruled themselves and had carried on great and well regulated empires; and now after this period of British domination these people have become so emasculated, demoralized and degraded that if left to themselves they will at once fly at one another's throats!

If the situation in India is like that, one would think the British would hide it, cover it up, blush with shame at the thought of it, be the last persons in the world to mention it.

And yet as a fact they declare it true and blazon it to the world.

Such statements as I have mentioned are made in Parliament. The Master of Elibank is reported as declaring, without a blush, in a speech on the budget:—"For us to abandon India would be in effect to hand her over to the most frightful anarchy." Sir Charles Elliott, a high British-Indian official, has published an article in the *Imperial Review* in which he goes

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

into particulars and paints the following hair-raising picture (*horresco referens!*): "If we English abandoned India to-morrow, no organized government would be formed. There would follow, not a despotism under Surendranath Bannerjea, or any other leader of the advanced party, not a democratic government of elected representatives of Bengali Baboos or Mahratta Brahmins, but a prompt invasion from Afghanistan in the north-west and Nepal in the north, and the wild tribes on the frontier of Assam in the north-east. The Princes of the Native States, with their well-trained armies, would re-commence their old internecine quarrels and annex adjoining territory, and there would be an orgy of murder and rapine."

This kind of thing is talked so much and written so much by the British that three quarters of the world believes it. I find it on all hands accepted as true in America. Even a man as intelligent as President Roosevelt declared in a public address:—"If English control were withdrawn from India the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence; all the weaker peoples, and the most industrious and law-abiding, would be plundered and forced to submit to indescribable

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

wrong and oppression, and the only beneficiaries among the natives would be the lawless, violent and bloodthirsty."

The amazing, the almost unbelievable thing is, that all this is not only declared to be true, but is put forth as a reason why England should still hold India,—instead of being seen to be, if true, a most powerful and unanswerable proof, that England should never have gone to India at all; that her rule there, if it has resulted in such conditions as these, has been nothing less than a calamity and a crime; and that the only hope for India is for the British to leave.

V

Of course if the British left *suddenly*—left "*to-morrow*," as the scare-writers like to put it—without making provision for successors, or for any government at all to take their place, the situation would undoubtedly be bad; unquestionably for a time there would be more or less chaos and anarchy; exactly as there would be in New York or London if everybody who had had experience in the government of those cities should suddenly leave without any provision having been made for any persons to take their places; or exactly as there

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

would be in any nation if everybody who had ever had experience in managing affairs, national, state, or local, should "to-morrow" drop everything and sail from the country.

Suppose England had been ruled for a century and a half by the Russians or the Germans, with every executive office and position of importance and power kept strictly in the hands of the ruling nation, and with nobody trained to succeed them: and then suppose that they suddenly left, would not there be confusion and anarchy and not a little fighting and bloodshed for a time in England? But would that be a reason why the Germans or the Russians ought to remain permanently in control of England; or, would it be a proof that the English people were not fit to rule themselves if given a chance?

Why do the English make this silly scare-talk, this wholly uncalled for scare-supposition, about the danger to India if the British left "*suddenly*," left "*to-morrow*"? Have the Indian people ever asked them to leave to-morrow or suddenly, or without careful and ample provision for the government to be carried on by competent Indians? No! India has never asked or desired anything of the kind. All pretence that she has is a "bugaboo," to blind

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

men's eyes to the real situation, and to make the world believe that the Indians are wild, only half civilized, dangerous fanatics, who are demanding what is utterly unreasonable as well as unjust, and who would ruin everything, themselves included, unless they were controlled by the wise British.

VI

As a fact, what India has really asked in the past and is asking to-day is something wholly sane and practicable, as well as wholly just. It is, first, that the British shall definitely and honestly promise to withdraw from India as soon as provision can be made for a competent and stable Indian government to take their place; and then, secondly, that they shall begin at once in good faith to prepare the way for such a government by giving to competent Indians experience—adequate experience—in every line of government activity and responsibility. This is reasonable, this is right, this is fair, this is the least that India can ask in justice to herself, and it is what England should have granted to her long ago.

If it is objected that competent Indians cannot be found, the answer is, they can be found if sought for. There is no lack of Indians

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

capable of filling and filling well absolutely every place of official responsibility from lowest to highest, in village, city, province and nation, if only they are allowed to receive training and experience. Given experience, India can govern herself (if the object of government in India is permitted to be the good of the Indian people, and not the enrichment and prestige of England) not only as well as, but far better than, England has ever governed her, and far better than any foreign power ever can govern her.

How long is India willing to give the British to make preparation for leaving—to train the Indian people by practical experience to carry on their own government? A few years ago she would cheerfully have said twenty years. At one time the Indian National Congress suggested ten or fifteen years. Now probably no one would consent to so long a time. To-day not a few careful and trusted Indian leaders say, two or three years are ample. Others are willing to allow five, and others even ten. If Great Britain would say to India clearly and unequivocally, "We will begin to-morrow putting more and more responsibility and power into your hands, thus in good faith training you by

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

steadily increasing your practical experience for self rule, and at the end of ten years (even so long a delay as that) we will give you self-rule in some form,—either that of absolute independence, or, that of a status similar to the dominion status of Canada and Australia within the British Empire or Commonwealth, as you yourselves at that time shall elect,”—if Great Britain would definitely and in good faith say that, does any one who knows India well and how patient and reasonable and conciliatory she has always been, doubt for a moment what her answer would be ?

While India demands for herself that freedom to manage her own affairs and to shape her own career in the world, which is the right of every nation, all her conduct in the past shows that she desires to be in every way fair and just to the British government, and also to all Englishmen—merchants and others—who are doing business in the country.

Here, there seems to be a wide-spread misunderstanding. The impression has been created that the Indian people want to drive out “bag and baggage” not only the Government but all Englishmen. This is incorrect. India has never demanded that Englishmen shall leave as individuals, but only that they

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

shall no longer remain as rulers and lords of the Indian people. Mahatma Gandhi has more than once taken pains to say that they would be welcome to stay as citizens, as business men, as traders, and even as officials in cases where the Indian Government might see fit to appoint them as such. But they must take their places by the side of the Indian people, not above them. They must not stay as self-appointed rulers, masters and privileged exploiters of the land.

Not only will India be able to govern herself, and better than any foreigners can possibly govern her, as soon as she is allowed to obtain a reasonable degree of experience and to set up a government of her own, but under a government of her own she will be fully able to protect herself from dissensions within and from foes without.

VII

It is a serious charge to make, and I do not make it, that during all her connection with India Great Britain has done all in her power to make and keep the Indian people as weak and helpless as possible, so as to enable her the more easily to hold them within her grip. But while I do not make this charge,

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

I do affirm two things. First, that this charge actually is made, seriously and earnestly, and believed to be true, by a very large proportion of the people of India ; and second, that *if* Great Britain *had* desired to make and keep India as weak and helpless as possible, it is difficult to see how she could have adopted a more effective means of securing this end than the course which she has pursued.

What has Great Britain done ? As has been pointed out elsewhere, she has drained away a large proportion of India's wealth to England, and reduced her to extreme poverty. She has so shaped the tariff, excise and other laws which she has enacted, as largely to break up India's commerce, manufactures and other industries, in the interest of those of Great Britain. Only to a limited extent has she built the railroads of India (paid for by Indian money) where India wanted them and where they would best answer the needs of the Indian people ; but mainly she has caused them to be located where they would best serve her military ends of transporting her armies quickly to strategic points, thus strengthening her military control of the country ; and also where they would best serve Britain's financial and economic ends of draining India of her

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

natural products, and making her industrially subservient to British interests as a land from which to obtain cheap raw material for British manufactures. She (Britain) has refused to give to the Indian people anything more than the most meagre amount of education. Indian leaders have begged for education and schools as for almost nothing else ; but no ! the money which ought to have been used to increase the nation's intelligence and therefore its prosperity and strength, has been wanted by the alien government for its military uses within the land and to carry on its military projects outside ; and therefore education and schools for the Indian people must be starved. A very meagre amount of higher education is provided, but even this is planned primarily in the interest of the foreign rulers of the land,—to provide them with clerks, stenographers, book-keepers and assistants of various kinds : only to a limited extent does it train young men to serve their country by building up its industries and thus making it strong.

VIII

Taken as a whole the people of India are peace-loving and law-abiding ; in this respect they are surpassed by no other people. But this

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

does not mean that they are without bravery or military qualifications. Probably quite 100 millions of the 320 millions of population of the land—the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Mahrattas and many others—are as good fighters as there are in the world when there is need of fighting, and therefore are abundantly able to protect the country and give strength to a native Indian Government. But no! these men are disarmed. Indeed the British rulers of the land keep the entire Indian population disarmed. No Indian may possess or use a gun without a special permit from the government—a permit exceedingly difficult to obtain. Even if he lives at the edge of the jungle, he may not have any kind of arms with which to defend himself and his family from tigers.

As has been said, India sent more than a million soldiers into the Great War of 1914—1918; and no troops in that great struggle were braver or more efficient. It was they that saved the first battle of the Marne for the Allies; and who conquered Palestine and Mesopotamia for England. But they were all humiliated by being compelled to fight under British officers, so that they might not gain any experience as commanders and leaders. And when they returned to India they were

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

disarmed. An important part of the army which the British government regularly maintains in India is composed of Indian soldiers ; but these are kept under British officers. A large proportion of the police of India are Indians, but they are kept strictly under the control of the British. In the executive department of the Indian Government, practically all offices of important responsibility or command or initiative or leadership are carefully kept from Indians and reserved for the British. Neither in civil nor military affairs are Indians allowed to hold positions in which they can get training or experience calculated to fit them for command or leadership. Thus seemingly everything possible is done to keep the whole nation helpless, unable to govern itself or to protect itself, absolutely dependent on the British.

And then, as I have said, the helplessness of the nation, thus brought about by the British themselves, is proclaimed to the world as proof that India is unfit for self-government, that if left to herself she could not protect herself even from little Afghanistan, or little Nepal, or the small half-civilized tribes on the borders of Assam, but would at once be overrun and filled with anarchy and bloodshed ; and

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA?

that therefore it is England's imperative and solemn duty to stay in India (so far as can be seen, forever), to protect her from ruin. If after 160 years of British tuition India is unfit to rule herself, when will she be fit? After another 160 years? No: with just as good reason then as now the British will exclaim: "We dare not go. If we leave to-morrow the whole country will run with blood from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, therefore we must stay." And after a thousand years of such training as Britain is giving India, will it not be exactly the same?

IX

I have called attention to the claim made by the British, that one fatal reason against granting self-government to India is her internal division—the allegation that she has no unity.

On this subject a further word should be said. It is important for both India and Great Britain to understand that nothing would have so strong an influence to unite India as a government of her own, a parliamentary government which would bring representatives of all parts of the land and of all classes in the land together, to plan for the common

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

welfare, and to rule the land for the common good.

This is shown by the history of the American Colonies before and after the Revolutionary War in which they gained their independence. The different colonies were, some of them, located far apart. Their inhabitants were from different countries of Europe; they had different religions, and to some extent spoke different languages. Their industrial and commercial interests were very different, and in many cases antagonistic. It was widely declared in England that these thirteen different colonies (virtually thirteen little separate nations) with so many differences and contentions, could not possibly unite in one government, or rule themselves; and that without the overlordship of Great Britain, there would be disorder, anarchy and local wars throughout the land.

As a fact it was difficult to persuade them to unite, and difficult to form a government acceptable to all. But no sooner was a common government set up, with its parliamentary or representative system, which placed all the colonies on a level and set all to the task of working together and planning for the common good, than the old differences and antagonisms

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

began to disappear. And it was not long before the new nation, the United States of America, was as united, as peaceful, and as efficient a government as probably existed in the entire world.

X

Turning to the history of Canada, we find a situation in many respects the same, and with the same lesson to teach. For a long time Canada was denied self-rule ; she was regarded as not fit to govern herself, partly because her area was so great, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific ; and partly because her people were so divided in race, language and religion,—her white population being about one half French, speaking the French language and professing the Roman Catholic faith, and the other half being English, speaking the English language and professing the Protestant faith, while in the land, scattered throughout all parts, were scores of tribes of aborigines, or native “Red Indians,” all having separate customs and cultures, and all speaking different tongues, and still in addition to these, there were in the far north various tribes of Esquimos, with strange languages, and with customs and modes of life different from all other peoples.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

How could a country of such vast extent, and with a population so scattered, divided and diverse, and possessing so little unity of any kind, govern itself? Surely it would be full of anarchy, wars and bloodshed, resulting in ultimate division into smaller nations forever fighting one another, if England withdrew her hand.

Was this what happened? It was the exact opposite of what happened. So long as the foreign rule of Great Britain continued there was discontent, ever increasing discontent, with insurrections and rebellions breaking out here and there, and others forever threatening. There was no feeling of general unity, no assured general peace and no general contentment until the country was given self-rule, that is, until it was given its present dominion status, with freedom and power to manage its own affairs. Then a marvellous change came. A feeling of unity such as would have been forever impossible under a foreign rule began to make its appearance; the different parts of the country began to develop a common interest, and to draw together for promotion of the common welfare, and there was such contentment and peace, and also such efficiency of government, as had never been known before.

WHO SHOULD RULE INDIA ?

XI

In these experiences,—that of the American Colonies which separated themselves from Great Britain and became an independent nation, and under independence grew united in spirit and strong; and in the experience of Canada which also found that self-rule meant unity and strength, there is a very important lesson for both India and Great Britain. It is all folly to claim that because of differences of race and language and religion India requires to be ruled by foreigners. What India needs to make her united and strong, is self-government. Nothing in the world would be so effective in causing the people of India to forget their differences of race and language and religion and to become united, and, when united, peaceful and efficient and powerful, as to set up for themselves a parliamentary government of their own, and begin the practical work of ruling themselves. That would mightily increase their self-respect, their confidence in themselves, their moral stamina, their interest in one another, their desire to promote peace in the land, and their ability to defend India in case of danger.

If the British, with all power in their hands, had set up a Parliamentary Govern-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

ment in India when Lord Ripon (in 1880-1884) made so fine a start toward it (which India hailed with delight but which the British thwarted) we may well believe that, by this time, all the Indian peoples outside of the "Native States," and probably with some of them included, would have been working together through their representatives as harmoniously, and, so far as can be seen, well nigh or quite as efficiently, as Canada or the United States.

CHAPTER IV

THE REFORM SCHEME

I am met with the question : Is not what I have said in the preceding pages a representation of things in India as they have been in the past, but not as they are now, since the inauguration by the British Government in 1919 of what is popularly known as the New Reform Scheme ? Does not this so-called Reform Plan which the British have so widely proclaimed to the world as a great boon to India, put a new face upon the whole situation ? Does it not, as it claims to do, set the Indian people on the road to securing at no distant day self-government, full self-government, like that of Canada and Australia ? Of course, if it does, then they will have power themselves to correct all these great evils, to right all these terrible wrongs which I have mentioned. What we need to know, therefore, is the real nature of the Reform Scheme.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

It will help us to understand it, if we look a little at its origin.

On August 20, 1917, Mr. Montagu, the then British Secretary of State for India, announced in the House of Commons that His Majesty's Government desired "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Government of India," and "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." That looked fair and full of promise.

But Mr. Montagu went on to say further: "The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian people, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance." Ah! That seemed to put a different look upon matters.

"Increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Government of India, and gradual development of self-governing institutions" was exactly what the leaders of the Indian people had long been pleading for. And now, was it to come? If so, it would fill all India with joy.

But that *second* declaration, what did that

THE REFORM SCHEME

mean? "The British Government (in London) and the Government of India (British) must be judges of the time and measure of each advance." Was India, then, to have no voice in shaping the new scheme? Had she no rights in the matter? Were the British to have the whole say as to *what* the advance should be—much or little, important or trivial? And the whole decision as to *when* it should be—now, or in some un-designated and absolutely indefinite future? Then was there really a promise at all, of anything? India waited eagerly and anxiously to see, as the plan of the British Government developed.

In sixteen months the plan was finished, and the "Government of India Act of 1919," as it was named, was proclaimed by King George as in force from that time onward.

It has now been in operation five years—a long enough period of time, certainly, for a full understanding of its character, and a full test of its value. Did it satisfy the Indian people when it was completed and handed to them? Has it yet given them, or does it definitely assure them in the future, any important new measure of self-government such as is the right of every nation?

Let us glance back over some past

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

history. When the great war of 1914 broke out in Europe, England found herself in a serious plight. In order to do her part in withstanding the German attack on France, she was compelled to send for almost her entire Indian army, which was the first foreign contingent to arrive on the field of conflict, and without whose invaluable help the German advance could not have been checked and Paris would undoubtedly have fallen.

* This sudden withdrawal from India of the military force maintained there to hold her in subjection, offered a very good chance to the Indian people to make use of such a time to throw off the foreign yoke which was so galling to them, and unite in a national strike for freedom and independence. And why not? Would any other nation in the world, held in bondage for more than a century and a half, have refrained from taking advantage of such an opportunity to regain the coveted liberty?

It is easy to see how great, how tremendous, might have been the temptation. Did the people say. "Now is the auspicious time; let us rise and be free?" No, on the other hand the great majority of the Indian people said: "England is in sore distress; she is fighting virtually for her life; to take advantage of her

THE REFORM SCHEME

helplessness, to strike her when she is down, would be dishonorable, cowardly. We will not do it. Although she has robbed us of our nationhood, we will not turn on her in her time of peril. Until her danger is over, we will stand by her, we will be loyal—nay, we will even help her in her struggle.” And they did. They were absolutely loyal throughout the war. Largely they laid aside for the time being the political agitation for freedom which they had been carrying on for many years. India rendered to Great Britain great and invaluable aid both in men and money. It was amazing. It was almost incredible that a subject people longing for freedom should take such a course. It was unselfish, chivalrous, noble beyond words. I am not able to recall in all history a national act, a national course of conduct so magnanimous or so noble.

The Indian people believed, and I think all the world believed, that when the war was over and England was safe, she would show appreciation of their marvellous loyalty and magnanimity, by treating them far better than she had done in the past, by righting their wrongs, and if not by granting them at once full and complete home rule like that of Canada, which was India's desire,—at least by setting

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

them well on the way toward it, and by giving them a definite promise of its complete realization in the near future.

Did England do this? No! Unbelievable as it seems, instead of meeting their magnanimity with a like magnanimity, instead of showing appreciation of their astonishing loyalty and their invaluable aid in her time of distress, instead of being even just to them, she proceeded to treat them with a degree of suspicion, oppression and cruelty beyond anything in the past, culminating in the Punjab atrocities and the infamous Rowlatt Act which virtually deprived India of even the protection of civil law.

Of course this was a terrible shock to the Indian people. It was a disappointment about as great as it is possible for any nation to experience.

But did Great Britain offer to the Indian people no return of any kind for what they had done? Yes, she offered them this so-called Reform Scheme for their Government. This was the reward, the only reward, the only semblance of reward, offered by England for India's service and devotion.

How did it impress the Indian people? I am speaking carefully when I say that

THE REFORM SCHEME

nobody was satisfied with it. Nobody felt it to be worthy of England ; nobody felt it to be at all what India deserved ; nobody felt that it in any measure righted India's wrongs. All parties, radical and conservative alike, united in protesting against its utter inadequacy.

However, there were two different views as to how it should be met—as to what India should practically do about it. One part of the Indian people—the minority—said : “ Although it is very far from what we want, and is seriously disappointing, yet perhaps it is better than nothing ; and therefore, while protesting against its limitations, let us be thankful for even a little, accept it for what it may be worth, do what we can to make it work so far as it goes, and trust to getting something better by and by. This was the position taken by what is known as the Moderate Party in India. The other and very much larger part of the Indian people said : “ No, to accept a scheme which so utterly fails to meet India's just demands would be humiliating, would be cowardice and folly, it would be to act like children—nay, like cowering slaves. When Great Britain offers us something adequate and honorable, we will accept it ; but not before.” This is the position

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

taken by the Indian National Congress, the All-India Moslem League, and by the great Nationalist Party ; it is also the position taken by Mahatma Gandhi and the powerful Non-Co-operative Movement which he inaugurated.

Let us examine the Reform Scheme a little more fully, so as to see more exactly what are the reasons for India's dissatisfaction with it.

(1) The first failure, disappointment, injustice, hardly less than insult, that India saw in the scheme, was Britain's spirit of high-handedness and arrogance, in claiming for herself all rights in the matter, and allowing India none; in setting out from the very inception of the Scheme to make it not what the Indian people had a right to and wanted, or what would have been just and acceptable to all parties concerned; but solely what she (Britain) wanted, and then thrusting it upon India.

The Scheme, to have been just, to have been anything that India could honorably accept, should have been mutual, something framed by India and Great Britain together, each recognizing the other's rights. But it was nothing of the kind. It was something designed to be a compact between two parties,

THE REFORM SCHEME

but framed by one party alone and imposed upon the other. There was nothing mutual about it. It was a dictation; it was a command; it was the voice of a master to slaves. Britain, standing above, handed it down to the Indian people below. They must receive it on their knees. What concerned her was not what they wanted or what rightly belonged to them, but what she, their all-powerful ruler who acknowledged no responsibility to them, thought they should have—what she was gracious enough to offer them. And of course what she condescended to offer, they were expected to receive gratefully and humbly.

Is it any wonder that a scheme framed in such a spirit and with such aims, was not welcome to the Indian people? Is it any wonder that they found it something which did not right their wrongs, or set their feet upon a path leading to self-government within any discernible future?

Let me not be misunderstood when I speak of the Scheme as formed by Great Britain alone or without the assistance which the Indian people ought to have been asked to give. I am quite aware that Mr. Montagu, the British Secretary of State for India, before formulating the Scheme went to India

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

and consulted—candidly and honestly, I have no doubt—the various interested parties there;—on the one hand, the Indian leaders and on the other the British rulers. That was fair so far as it went, but how little way did it go! What followed? What followed was that Mr. Montagu and other representatives of Great Britain proceeded to draw up a scheme for India's government, without associating with themselves in this great and serious task any representatives at all chosen by India for that task. That was unfair; that was dishonourable. Such a one-sided body of men could not possibly produce a scheme that would be just to India or that India could accept. What ought to have been done was the creation of a Joint Commission with an equal number of British and Indian members, the Indian Members being elected by the Indian people and therefore empowered really to represent them; and this Joint Commission should have been instructed to draw up, and should have drawn up, such a scheme as seemed just and wise in their united judgment. That would have been fair and just both to England and India. And to a scheme thus created, the Indian people would gladly have given their assent.

THE REFORM SCHEME

(2) The second thing to be said about this so-called Reform Scheme is that, in its very nature, it is self-contradictory.

The Scheme has been given the very unusual name of "Diarchy," which properly means the joint rule of two monarchs, as William and Mary in England. But in the present case it is supposed to signify the joint rule of the British and the Indians through an arrangement by which some matters connected with the Government are "transferred" or committed (under severe limitations) to Indian management, while others are "reserved" or kept wholly under British control. Exactly described, it is a plan which puts side by side two radically different, two absolutely antagonistic forms of government—one, self-rule; the other, arbitrary rule from the outside; one, democracy; the other, absolute autocracy or absolute monarchy (in the form of an alien bureaucracy), and expects them to work in harmony. It is an attempt to mix oil and water; or to ride two horses going in opposite directions. Abraham Lincoln said: "A nation cannot endure half free and half slave." Neither can a nation be successfully ruled by means of governmental machinery, half formed for ends of freedom and half for ends of oppression. That is exactly what

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

this scheme is. It is an attempt to take an old scheme of absolute autocracy, absolute tyranny, "tinker it up," make alterations in its form but not in its spirit, and christen it a "New Scheme of Liberty."

History shows that the whole British Governmental machine in India has been built up from the beginning (first by the old East India Company and later by the Crown) with the sole purpose not of permitting the Indian people to have freedom or to rule themselves, but to ensure for ever Great Britain ruling them, ruling them without their consent, ruling them absolutely. Now they are protesting and insisting on self-rule. What sane man had any right to expect that that old governmental machine, created to hold them down, could by any changes or manipulations be made to serve effectively as an instrument to give them freedom?

It is clear what Great Britain ought to have done in 1917-19 instead of concocting this present childish, impossible, misshapen, mongrel plan. She should have listened to India's just demands, and given her a government framed distinctly and honestly for ends of self-rule; a government responsible, at least in all home matters, to the Indian people;

THE REFORM SCHEME

a real democracy essentially like that of Canada or South Africa, but of course adapted to the special needs and conditions of India. That would have been sane. It would have been straightforward and honest. It would have been practicable and to the infinite advantage of all concerned. On the one hand it would have made India content, and on the other it would have removed all cause for anxiety or alarm on the part of Great Britain. It would have resulted in India's becoming as loyal a part of the Empire (or Commonwealth) as South Africa or Canada or Australia. That the very opposite state of things now exists, is the result of Britain's blind and stupid refusal to give to the Indian people what they so earnestly asked for, and what was their right; and thrusting on them, instead, this impossible, self-contradictory, vicious plan of "Diarchy".

(3) The third thing about the India Reform Scheme which vitiates it, is the fact that it contains no "Bill of Rights," no constitutional guaranty of any kind securing the Indian people against possible future injustices and tyrannies on the part of the Government. In view of the many wrongs that the people have suffered in the past, this defect is fatal—something which alone affords sufficient ground for

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

rejection of the Scheme. Without a bill of rights, or a constitutional guaranty of justice, the people have no sure protection, they are wholly at the mercy of their foreign rulers, liable at any time to have wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon them as great as any they have ever suffered. The British at home, in England, would on no consideration give up the protection which for hundreds of years they have received from their *Magna Charta*, which has shielded them by its great words: "No freeman shall be arrested or detained in prison... or in any way molested.....unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land."

We Americans could not possibly be induced to surrender the guaranteed protection which we possess in our Declaration of Independence, and especially in our National Constitution, which declares :

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated.

THE REFORM SCHEME

“Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

“No State or province within the nation shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”

Such charters of rights, such guarantees of protection, are regarded by Englishmen, by Americans, and by all other free peoples, as absolutely indispensable in their own cases. Why does not Great Britain grant such protection to India ?

Within the last six or seven years reports have come from the most trustworthy sources, of crimes and brutalities committed by British officials against the Indian people, which have shocked the world—houses searched without warrant; men seized and imprisoned without trial; men and women peacefully working in the field bombed from the sky; all the inhabitants in a certain street in a city forbidden to go along the street even to get water or buy food except by their crawling on their hands and knees; a great peaceful gathering assembled in a public garden on a religious festival day, fired on without warning by troops, and the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

firing continued until the ammunition of the soldiers was exhausted, and 379 dead and 1,200 wounded men, women and children lay heaped on the bloody ground‡, prisoners confined in a luggage van without ventilation, and in spite of their frantic cries for air kept there until more than 70 were dead; and many other brutalities and crimes almost as shocking.

Should not the new government scheme for India, if it was to be of any value at all, have given guarantees against such outrages in the future?

Yet it did not and does not. The fact alone that the military forces of the country and the police are both wholly under British control—neither being responsible in any degree to the Indian people—makes the recurrence of injustices and atrocities as bad as any of these possible at any future time. The new Scheme gives no guaranty whatever against any future Governor O'Dwyers

‡ The Hunter Committee appointed to investigate the Punjab atrocities reported the number killed in the Amritsar (Jallianwalla Bagh) massacre as 379, and the number wounded as about three times as many. These numbers, however, are very much the lowest given by any authority. The Investigation Commission appointed by the authorities of the National Indian Congress, whose researches were far more thorough, reported that they found unimpeachable evidence that the number shot to death was approximately 1,200 and the number wounded approximately 3,600.

THE REFORM SCHEME

and General Dyers and Jalianwalla Baghs, Moplah suffocations, and the rest. It protects the British rulers of the land, but nobody else. It does not guaranty to the Indian people police protection, or military protection, or civil protection; it does not insure to them freedom of speech, or of assembly or of the press, or the right of trial in open court, or the privilege of *habeas corpus*, or any other of the essential rights and privileges which are the foundations and indispensable guarantees of liberty, justice and law. Is it any wonder that India rejected the Scheme? Is it not amazing that any nation calling itself civilized and Christian, in this age of the world, can have proposed such a Scheme?

(4) A fourth indictment of a very serious character to be made against the new plan for governing India, is, that it gives to the Indian people no effective voice whatever in legislation. All real law-making power is retained absolutely in British hands. This is true of legislation in the Provinces and it is still more fully and seriously true of national legislation. On a first examination of the Scheme this is very likely to escape observation. But when we look deeper, we see that it is true.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

In the national government, it allows Indians to hold a few more places than they formerly did. To be specific : in the Governor-General's Executive Council there are now three Indians ; but as the Council contains a majority of Englishmen besides the Governor-General himself, of course the Indians have no power. In the Legislative Assembly there is a considerable number of Indians, enough to guard India's rights, if they had any power. But they have not. They are allowed to vote on many things, but not on all ; on some they are not permitted even to speak. Matters are so arranged that in no case can they disturb the plans of the Government. Whatever legislation the British rulers desire, they enact, whether the Indians favor it or not.

In the Provinces, the situation is similar. Each Provincial Governor has one Indian (or possibly two) on his Council, but the majority (including the Governor) is English. Each Provincial Legislative Assembly contains a majority of Indians, but here again they can legislate only upon such matters as the British rulers permit ; and even regarding these they have no final power : whatever laws they enact can be overturned by the Governor in Council,

THE REFORM SCHEME

or by the Governor-General in Council, or both. The new Scheme gives each Province a new Indian Officer called a Minister (in some Provinces, more than one) whose business is to manage certain public matters, such as education, sanitation, agriculture, etc., in the interest of India. This is good so far as it goes. But here again there is little or no real freedom or power. British authority overshadows everything. The Ministers can accomplish nothing without money, and no money is allowed them except such sums as the British Rulers see fit to spare—military and other imperial expenditures always taking the precedence.

Furthermore, these Ministers are all under the control of the Governors, who can annul anything they do.

But the worst thing of all is the absolute powerlessness of the legislative bodies, especially those connected with the national government. As we have seen, some subjects of legislation they are not permitted even to discuss, and on nothing are they allowed to have the final decision. Even if they vote unanimously for a measure, the Government may disallow it.

Is it said that even in democratic America

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

the enactments of State Legislatures may be vetoed by Governors, and those of the National Congress, by Presidents? Yes, this is true. But these vetoes are not final. An American State legislature can pass anything it desires over the Governor's veto, and the American National Congress can pass anything it pleases over the veto of the President. In India, nothing of this kind is possible. There, all final legislative authority, all real legislative power, whether national or provincial, is in the hands of the executive. Notwithstanding the increased number of so-called legislators under the new plan, the British are still, just as before, the supreme, the sole, law-makers of India.

Of course the fact that in the legislative bodies the Indian members are granted considerable liberty of discussion, is not without value. It gives to the British overlords a better knowledge than they would otherwise have of the feelings and wants of the people, and thus to some extent it may influence legislation. And yet, one cannot help wondering how much. A prominent member of the British Indian Government said to an American: "Oh yes! We listen to these Indian fellows, these natives, in our legisla-

THE REFORM SCHEME

tures—to their talk, their discussions, their pleas for education, their demands for what they call their ‘rights,’ for ‘home-rule’ and the rest—we listen to them, they like it, and then—*we do as we damned please!*”

This is a cynical and almost brutal declaration; but it describes exactly the amount of power possessed by the people of India in enacting legislation on all subjects of highest importance, and in shaping all the vital affairs of their own nation.

That the ‘reformed’ Government of India is just as autocratic and absolute since the introduction of the new plan of things as it was before, and that the Indian members of the new National Legislative Assembly and the new National Council of State all combined, have no real power, is shown by one thing alone even if there were nothing else. That one thing is the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi and more than 25,000 of his sympathizers, among them a large number of the most honored men in India. Practically all India felt outraged by these imprisonments. But all India could do nothing. The action of the Government in doubling the cruel salt-tax in defiance of the nation’s unanimous protest, also shows how entirely helpless

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

India is. The power of "certification" given to the Governor-General makes him virtually an absolute monarch, and puts all India virtually under his feet. As to the apparent check placed upon his certifications by the provision that they must lie two months before the British Parliament before becoming operative, everybody knows that in practice his provision will always amount to nothing.

(5) The new scheme of Government is vitiated, made repellent, shown to be worthless, by the fact that its whole spirit is one of negations. Its constant aim, from first to last, is to forbid, to forbid. Its most outstanding feature is its careful, specific and multiplied specifications and descriptions of the privileges, rights, liberties and powers that the Indian people are *not permitted* to have. The word '*verboden*' was never more in evidence in any German city than are the '*forbids*' in this scheme. Prohibiting, not granting, is the whole spirit of the measure. At every point where we come upon anything of first class importance, anything that would give any real power to India, there at once we are met with "reservations," "reservations." And the reservations are always in the interest of England, never of India. Even the "trans-

THE REFORM SCHEME

ferred" subjects "have strings to them." The great thing that the scheme constantly guards against, is not the real danger that India may fail to get her rights, but the imagined danger that at some point or other England may suffer some loss of prestige, or privilege, or power. The scheme gives no evidence of being something prompted by a desire to right India's age-long and terrible wrongs; indeed, it contains no real recognition of the existence, now or in the past, of any such wrongs. Everything in it and about it shows that it is simply an effort on the part of Great Britain to retain her grip on India at a trying time. The scheme is an unintentional but clear acknowledgment to the world that a great new spirit of freedom and independence has come into the world, and that India is feeling it mightily. This alarms England. She sees that the Indian people are waking up, are rising from their knees to their feet, are becoming indignant at being held in subjection, are feeling humiliated and outraged beyond measure by the fact that they, who for so many centuries were a great nation among the nations of the world, are now not thought of as a nation at all, but are regarded as a mere appendage, a mere possession of a nation seven thousand miles away.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

What is the new Government scheme offered to India? It is England's attempt to counteract all this, to quiet the unrest of the Indian people, to allay their humiliation, to soothe their wounded pride, to administer to them an opiate, to induce them to lay aside their dangerous ambition and be willing to continue loyal still to Great Britain, by offering them something which they are told is a great boon, something which England assures them means increasing freedom, more and more privileges, more and more participation in the Government, an advance, with more and more advances to follow, on the road leading toward self-rule.

But alas! these promises when examined, when really looked into, when probed to the bottom, when tested as now five years of trial have tested them, are seen to mean nothing of value to India. Their real purpose is not at all India's advancement, but her pacification, and England's security. They offer India no boon whatever. They merely promise her a pot of gold at the end of a rainbow.

(6) One more serious indictment remains to be made against Great Britain's new Government scheme for India. It fixes no time. It leaves everything uncertain. What-

THE REFORM SCHEME

ever promises it makes, or is supposed to make, of new rights or privileges, or of advances toward self-rule, are only to be fulfilled 'some time,' in an unknown future, and at the option of the British rulers.

This is fatal. It makes the promises absolutely worthless. It is well understood in law that if I give a man a note promising to pay him a sum of money, but without mentioning any time, my note is of no value. Nobody can collect anything on it. Or if I make my note payable at such a time in the future as I may then elect, still it is valueless. My promise to pay must state when the payment is due, in order to be of any worth. It is exactly the same with the supposed promise made in this Reform Scheme of future self-government to India. There is no date fixed. The fulfilment can be put off and put off until the end of time. It is really no promise at all.

One exception must be made to the statement that the Reform Scheme mentions no date. It does mention a date, not, however, when India is to receive full self-rule, or necessarily any new measure of self-rule, but when *all* her advance toward self-rule *may* be *stopped* by a power that she cannot control;

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

indeed, when such small degree of self rule *as she now possesses may be taken from her!* The Scheme provides that in ten years a British parliamentary Commission shall be appointed. For what? Not necessarily to grant India anything, or to advance her by a single inch on the road toward freedom, but to examine the situation and decide whether they shall then give her anything *or not*, or whether they shall *take away what she already has.* And then we must bear in mind that the Commission is to be composed not necessarily even in part of persons chosen by India or of persons favorable to India's freedom, and not of non-British men, outsiders, neutrals, who could judge without bias, but of *members of the very nation that is holding India in subjection and is interested to keep her in its power as long as possible.* When we bear this in mind, it becomes easy to understand what the decisions of that Parliamentary Commission are likely to be.

Thus we see the truth of the statement made, that the new Reform Scheme is worthless because it fixes no time when India can be sure of receiving any advancement whatever beyond her present status. The Scheme does not promise the Indian people that Great Britain, in whose hands it leaves everything, will grant them

THE REFORM SCHEME

self-government, or any advance toward self-government in ten years, or for that matter in twenty years, or a hundred. Indeed, India's deep feeling of distrust of the Reform Scheme,—the feeling which she had at the beginning and which has been strengthening ever since,—that the Scheme contains nothing of real value for India, and cannot be trusted as even having in it any permanence, has been confirmed by the highest possible authority. In the summer of 1922, Lloyd George, then Premier of the British Empire, declared in Parliament in the most unequivocal terms that the Reforms were only an experiment; that they might be changed or entirely withdrawn at any time; and that he could discern no time in the future when India could be permitted to rule herself; in other words, he could see no future time when the British could consent to the existence of any government in India that was not controlled by themselves, that did not have at its center the "steel frame" of "British bureaucracy."

The fact is not to be escaped, that Great Britain does not in her so-called Reform Scheme, pledge to the Indian people anything except that if they will cease their disagreeable (to her) agitations for reforms and freedom,

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

and be dumb and docile, and do what she tells them (like good children, or rather, like slaves) and cause her no trouble, she will be kind and motherly to them, and at such time or times in the future as, in her superior wisdom, she may see fit, she may condescend graciously to grant them such limited new liberties as she may then consider safe, and such gradual advances toward the very far-off goal of self-government as then she may deem it best for them to receive.

To put the case in a word, this Scheme which has been heralded abroad and praised as offering so much to India, and as setting her feet securely on the road to a dominion status like that of Canada, as a matter of fact *gives her no assurance of being granted such a status in a thousand years.*

In conclusion: the favorite motto of George the Third in dealing with his American colonies was, "Everything for the people, but nothing by the people." He thought the motto very wise. As a fact it was foolish in the extreme—it helped to bring on the Revolution which lost England her colonies. This fatally narrow policy is exactly the one that England at the present time seems determined to carry out in India. But it will work no better there

THE REFORM SCHEME

than in America. What all self-respecting people in the world want, is not things done for them, not charity, and doles and concessions and kindnesses graciously and condescendingly "handed down" to them by "superiors," but justice and independence—freedom to stand on their own feet and do things for themselves and be men. No material favors, however great, can take the place of freedom. Even marble palaces, and clothing of silk and velvet, and the costliest and most abundant food, can have no effect to make people who possess any manhood content with slavery or subjection to others. India desperately needs and deeply desires better material conditions—better food, better clothing, better housing, and the riddance of her awful poverty; but more deeply still she desires to be free. And as a fact, she is profoundly convinced that it is only through freedom that she can ever hope to improve her food, her clothing and her homes, and rise out of her poverty which is so appalling. The Morley-Minto reform plans of 1908-09 were based on the idea that what would make India content was a few more "plums"—a few more concessions, a few more liberties (within strictly prescribed bounds), a few more offices for Indians, a few more honors—knighthoods, etc. The Montagu-Chelms-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

ford Reform plan, which has been condescendingly offered to India at the present time, is based upon the same idea, with the supposed improvement that it seems to grant somewhat larger and sweeter plums, that is, ostensibly somewhat greater liberties and privileges in certain directions, somewhat more offices for Indians, with higher pay, and more numerous and enticing honors to such Indians as by their humility and obedience may win the favor of their British masters.

Can a great nation, with a proud history of three or four thousand years, be satisfied with such baubles? No! Tolstoi said of certain tyrants in Russia that they were willing to do everything for their subjects except get off their back. What India wants of Great Britain is to get off her back.

Said the great and honored American, Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty, or give me death." Said the great and honored Indian, Ram Mohun Roy, "I want to be free, or I do not want to be at all."

Why was not Great Britain wise enough and noble enough, at the close of the Great War in Europe, even if not before, to extend to India the same warm, strong hand of friendship, confidence, trust, comradeship, co-opera-

THE REFORM SCHEME

tion and real partnership in the Empire, which at the end of the Boer War she extended to South Africa? That would have saved everything in India, as it did in South Africa.

Will she do it yet? Will she do it before it is too late? Will she do it in time to prevent terrible disaster?

CHAPTER V

GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION

WHAT is to be said of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian Non-Co-operative Movement?

As is well known, for many years the leaders of the Indian people tried, by popular agitation, by appeals and by petitions, to induce Great Britain to grant their country a greater degree of freedom and self-government—not necessarily independence and entire separation from the British Empire—they would have been content with Home Rule similar to that of Canada and South Africa. But at last a large proportion of these leaders, Mahatma Gandhi conspicuous among the number, became convinced that agitation and moral appeal were of no avail; that they would never bring India self-rule or much advance in freedom beyond her present condition.

What finally created in them this conviction was Great Britain's failure to show any

GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION

appreciation of India's loyalty during the great war, and her broken promises and great injustices to the Indian people after the war.

Up to that time Gandhi had been thoroughly loyal to Britain, and during the war he had rendered her valuable practical service. But when the outrageous Rowlatt Bills were enacted, putting every man and woman in India at the mercy of the police and the military without the protection of civil law, and when the shocking Punjab atrocities were committed under the authority of the Government, and were virtually defended by the Government, and when the promise made by Great Britain concerning the Khalifat was broken—then Gandhi felt that all hope for justice from Great Britain was gone and that nothing remained but to repudiate her rule, and strike for a government of the Indian people. How would he strike? The non-co-operative movement was the answer.

When the American colonists in 1776 came to the point where they felt they could endure British oppression no longer, they struck by methods of violence, appealing to arms and fighting a seven years' war to drive out the oppressor and gain their freedom. Mahatma Gandhi took higher ground. He said, "Free-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

dom is our right; it is dearer to us than life; obtain it we must and will, at the cost of suffering and if need be, of life itself. But we will not obtain it by war; that is, by the wholesale murder of innocent men. There is a higher and better way. Britain may arrest us, imprison us by the ten thousand, and kill us, if she will; but we will not kill one of her soldiers or one of her people; we will not even hate one of her people; but we will compel her to do us justice and give us back our country which she has stolen. How compel her? By refusing to co-operate with her. The British in India are a mere handful compared with our own vast population. Without our help, they cannot carry on the government for a day. More than that, without our help they cannot even obtain their daily food, they cannot live. Here, then, by simply withdrawing from them all Indian assistance so long as they continue their unjust rule, we can compel Great Britain to do us justice."

Gandhi saw what this absolute helplessness of the English in India (when unaided)—their complete dependence upon the help of Indians not only in carrying on the Government, but even for the necessities of their existence in India, is a powerful, an absolutely

GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION

irresistible weapon which the Indian people hold in their hands—if once they choose to use it—to bring their rulers to terms.

This was not wholly a new idea with Gandhi. The same thought had been expressed many years ago by a distinguished Englishman who knew India well—Mr. Meredith Townsend—who made the startling declaration that: "If ever the Indian people struck for even a single week, the British Empire there would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house. He could not even feed himself or get water."

Mahatma Gandhi and the vast body of Indian people who have accepted his leadership have simply seized this weapon of the strike, of refusal to help the British, of non-co-operation, so significantly referred to by Mr. Meredith Townsend, to gain for them their freedom. Will they succeed?

There are forms of non-co-operation as yet untried by Mr. Gandhi, or tried only to a very limited extent, which certainly seem to have in them great possibilities of effectiveness. One of these, not mentioned by Mr. Townsend, is refusal to pay taxes. Of course the Government cannot go on without

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

the revenues derived from taxation. If the Indian people with nearly or quite perfect unanimity, should refuse to pay any taxes to the Government so long as it remained in British control, that would bring a crisis; the Government would be obliged either to abdicate or radically change its form in harmony with India's demands. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress have not yet inaugurated this drastic form of non-co-operation, because to be effective it must be practically unanimous—essentially all India, or at least a large section, must be prepared to undertake it at once. If only a small part of the people should refuse to pay taxes, nothing would be accomplished. Those who refused would have their property seized by the authorities and sold, or would be sent to prison, or both,—the Government would go on, and the condition of things would be worse than before. But if practically all the people withheld their taxes, the prisons could not hold a tenth part of the delinquents, it would be useless for the authorities to seize property, for there would be nobody to buy it, all public revenues would cease, and the Government would be brought to an absolute stand-still. Gandhi and the Congress believe that such non-co-operative

GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION

agencies as have been already set in operation, particularly the boycott of English-made clothes, and the introduction of the spinning wheel and the hand loom into all the homes of the land, are steadily and surely preparing the Indian people to make such a stand against foreign taxation. If they are right, and if universal refusal to pay taxes is ordered and is carried out, India will certainly win her battle.

The other form of non-co-operation which has in it tremendous possibilities of effectiveness, is that partly described by Mr. Townsend. This is already in operation in India on a limited scale. It has not been attempted beyond a limited scale, because it is felt that India is not yet completely ready. But if the time comes when Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress shall give the order, and when the Indian people with essential unanimity shall obey the order, to strike fully and completely against service of the British Government, so that virtually every man and woman in India shall refuse to co-operate with it in any way—from the highest Indian officials down to the humblest clerks in the Government offices and the women who scrub the office floors and the chauffeurs who drive the Englishmen's cars and the servants in

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

their homes who prepare their food and sweep their rooms—if such a strike as this, such complete and full non-co-operation shall take place, the inevitable result will be not only that every function of the Government as now constituted, must cease, but no foreign government official can remain in the country without resigning his official position. On this line also, therefore, as well as on the others, India can certainly win her battle, if she will.

The question is, will she do it? Will the Indian people by united action in these ways, avail themselves of the power which they possess? Will Gandhi and the Congress, in the name of all that is highest and most sacred in India's past history and her hopes for the future, call upon the Indian people to use this power to the full? And will they at any cost obey?

If India carries her unique, her wonderful, her infinitely inspiring non-violent, non-co-operative movement to success, one of the greatest steps of progress in the whole history of mankind will have been taken: for the first time in human history a nation in bondage to a foreign power will have defied and defeated its oppressors and gained its freedom without shedding one drop of human blood. Surely not

GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION

only every American, but every lover of progress, of civilization, of peace, of liberty, of humanity, throughout the world, should be in profound sympathy with this great and heroic struggle of the Indian people by absolutely peaceful means to throw off their foreign yoke and attain once more their rightful place as a nation among the nations.

CHAPTER VI

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

AGAIN and again it has been declared by the great statesmen of Europe that India was the cause—the real cause—of the World War of 1914—1918. The possession by Great Britain, for more than a century and a half, of so vast and rich an empire in Asia as India is, had been all the while kindling jealousy, envy and lust of conquest in the breasts of the other nations of Europe. All the other leading nations had looked on with envy, and said: If Great Britain holds her vast and rich Indian possessions as the result of conquest by the sword, why should not we also use the sword and conquer rich and lucrative possessions? If by her navy and her army she has won for herself such a splendid 'place in the sun,' why should not we create armies and navies and win an equal place in the sun? Says Herbert Adams

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

Gibbons, in his book "The New Map of Asia": "No one can understand the foreign policy of Great Britain, which has inspired military and diplomatic activities from the Napoleonic Wars to the present day, who does not interpret wars, diplomatic conflicts, treaties and alliances, territorial annexations, extensions of protectorates, all with the fact of India constantly in mind."

I

It is well known that Napoleon's greatest envy of England was her Indian Empire. His supreme ambition was to wrest that Empire from her and give it as a splendid present to his beloved France. For this he went to Egypt and fought his campaign there and in Syria, hoping thence to push on to India and secure his prize.

Most of the wars of England for more than a century have been fought directly or indirectly to make secure her grasp on India.

England's wars carried on against the tribes to the north-west of India, against Afghanistan and against Thibet, were ostensibly to give India a "scientific frontier." But that really meant, to obtain possession of the passes and strong military positions to the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

north, north-west and west, and thus guard India against a possible or imagined invasion from Russia.

England's conquest of Egypt in 1882 was primarily to get control of the nation in whose territory lay the Suez Canal, and thus protect her passage way to India.

It has been England's hold of India that has made her regard it as necessary not only to obtain possession of the Suez Canal and lands on the route to India, such as Egypt, Cyprus and areas on the Arabian Coast and the Persian Gulf, but also to possess and powerfully fortify such strongholds as Gibraltar (conquered from Spain), Malta (which properly belongs to Italy), and Aden at the entrance to the Red Sea (wrested from Arabia).

England's great navy, the existence of which has caused so much uneasiness among all other nations and which has been a constant incitement to them to increase their navies, owes its existence largely to India—to England's felt necessity for keeping open her sea route to her distant possession and for defending that possession against any nation that might want to rob her of it.

As to England's army too, although it

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

seldom has been as large as those of several of the other European powers, yet it has been usually kept at fully double the strength (counting both British and Indian troops) that would have been necessary except for India. Thus England's influence in stimulating the growth of modern armies has been greatly increased by her conquest and holding of India.

England's long enmity to Russia, shown in the Crimean War, in her siding with Turkey at the close of the war of 1877, and in many other ways, has been caused primarily by her fear of Russia's encroachment on India.

On the other hand, it has been Britain's great prestige, power and wealth gained through her possession of India that more than anything else has inflamed Russia with Asiatic ambitions, and caused her to push forward her own conquests with a view to obtaining a place in Asia as important as that of her British rival.

It has been largely envy of England's rich possession in India that has made all the great European powers eager to get slices of China. If England had India why should not they have China? If the big rich Asiatic cake was to be cut and divided up, and if Great Britain

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

had already secured such an enormous slice in India, why should not they bestir themselves and seize slices elsewhere ?

All these ambitions of the other leading European powers to follow Britain's example and get slices of the Asiatic cake, of course made her the more anxious to protect her slice.

Great Britain's diplomatic and military operations in Persia for some years before the war in Europe, and her co-operation with Russia in reducing Persia to the position of a dependency of Great Britain and Russia, had India in view. Great Britain wanted to get Persia under her control, and thus be able to use her as a barrier between Germany and India.

Britain's hostility to Germany, which had been growing for fifteen or twenty years, before the war of 1914, sprang largely from her fear that Germany's ambition to gain a foothold in Asia might limit her own influence there, and especially might endanger her hold on India. Particularly had she been alarmed over Germany's project of a railway from Berlin to Bagdad, because such a great highway would bring Germany so much nearer to England's great Indian possessions.

If twenty years ago Britain had admitted

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

India to partnership within the British Empire, with home rule, Germany would never have dreamed of her Berlin to Bagdad railway project. Germany went into the Great War believing that India was Britain's weakness, and that the Indian people would take the war as an occasion to revolt against their British overlords. This mistake would not have been made by Germany if India had been a contented partner in the British Empire. Thus there would have been no war. This means that if Britain had been wise enough to extend to India, in time, the hand of justice, friendship and brotherhood, as noble Englishmen like John Bright and Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill and A.O. Hume and Sir Henry Cotton and Sir William Wedderburn and others urged her to do, instead of being guided by her blind imperialists and militarists, the results would have been to-day an England leading the world in prosperity and peace, instead of a land mourning the loss of millions of its noblest young men, the widowing of millions of its wives and mothers, the unemployment of millions of its workers, the piling up a crushing debt of billions of pounds, and the crippling of its industries to a degree never known before; and, what is even more

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

important, the results on the European Continent would have been, the nations there in prosperity and peace, instead of being, as most of them now are, in conditions of simply indescribable fear, hate, misery and hopelessness. Thus England has paid dear, and Europe has paid dear, for an India conquered, exploited and held down by the sword.

II

It is not only true that India has been the main cause of England's wars for two centuries, but it is also true that India has been a constantly inciting cause, even more so than the Balkans or Turkey, (although not always realised) of Europe's political jealousies, ambitions, intrigues, rivalries, secret diplomacies and wars.

Writes a distinguished Englishman: "The great War of 1914 to 1918, which ruined and drained Europe, of which few if any confess the true aims, was a war for the possession of the routes to Asia, for the possession of Asia, particularly India. Nothing can disarm the rival ambitions of the European powers so long as the prey they covet remains for them a possible prey. Peace will come to Europe from Asia when Asia becomes free, not before.

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

It is not solely for the uplift of Asia, but in the interest of Europe herself, that one must wish for the end of her Asiatic domination. The time has come for her to loose her deadly grip on Asia, for her own sake. The yoke of brass which she had forged for the Asiatic peoples is bruising her own neck. The sword with which she struck has turned back, dripping with blood, against herself. The hour has come for Europe to die to her old life of Asiatic conquest, greed, exploitation and domination, that she may be born again. The rebirth of Europe has for its condition the restoration, the restitution of Asia. Of Asia—yes! and first of all, India! For without India there is no real Asia. There is no Asia free without India free. For India is not simply a part of Asia; she is its living heart, the soul itself."

The conquest of India was the greatest theft in the history of the modern world. The exploitation of great India with its vast population and its enormous material resources, has been the modern world's richest loot. Is it any wonder that the other great nations have been envious of England, and have plotted and planned how they might either capture from her this richest of all her prizes, or,

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

failing that, get possession of other territories in Asia or elsewhere, and thus obtain power, and prestige and wealth in some measure commensurate with England's?

Thus it is that ever since early in the eighteenth century the conquest and exploitation of India have stirred up perpetual rivalries, jealousies, strifes, plots, hatreds and wars among the nations of Europe. And this is only another way of saying that India held in subjection—held as a rich prize by one European nation and coveted by the rest—has been the leading influence in turning all Europe into an armed camp, thus making inevitable the terrible conflict which began in 1914.

Nor can things be permanently better so long as India remains a subject land; that is, so long as this prime cause of the plottings, jealousies and hostilities of nations continues.

All the peoples of the world want peace. But right-thinking men everywhere agree that permanent peace can be based only on justice and freedom. So long as nations are held in bondage by other nations there can be no peace that will last. On July 14th, 1917, Lloyd George, the British Premier, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Russia saying: "There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

of Governments to their people is clearly established from one end of Europe to the other." Why did he not add, what was quite as true and quite as important. "There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility of Governments to their people is clearly established *from one end of Asia to the other*"?

The Allies in the late war all saw plainly and declared that there could be no permanent peace in Europe unless Belgium and Serbia and Poland were given freedom. Why did they not all see the same with regard to Asia, especially great India? A peace settlement with India still in chains, left her, as in the past, and much more than in the past, the danger spot of the world. I say much more than in the past, for India is fast rising to a new self-consciousness, to a new sense of her wrong, to a new realization of her own power, to a new determination to be free.

III

At present India is striving to gain her freedom by peaceful means. What if that kind of effort fails? If the liberty which she seeks, and which is dearer to her than life itself (either the liberty of Home Rule like Canada's in connection with the British

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Empire, or if England will not willingly grant it entire independence) is refused to her until her patience is worn out—then what? Who can say that there may not be a revolt, like that of the American Colonies against Great Britain in 1776?—and a revolt caused by grievances borne and wrongs suffered far greater than those which drove the American colonists to rebellion! And England should understand that if a revolt comes in India now, after the Great War in which a million and a quarter Indians fought so bravely and effectively as any European soldiers, and after the infamous Rowlatt Act which outraged all India, and after the Amritsar massacre which shocked all India, and destroyed her faith in British justice, and after the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi which endeared him more than ever to all India,—if after all these experiences a revolt comes, it will not be another mutiny like that of 1857. That was terrible enough. It strained the British Empire to its utmost to quell it. But that was confined to the native army, and only a part of the army at that; for a considerable portion remained loyal to Great Britain. Indeed it was only by the help of loyal India and loyal Indian troops that the mutiny was quelled and British rule in India survived.

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

But the next revolt, if it comes—if India is driven to it—will not be a mere local affair,—it will be the uprising of all India. In 1857 India was divided. It is not divided now. Within the last half century, and especially within the last ten years, a united India has come into existence, which is feeling its power; which remembers that it has been a great nation among the nations of the world, and is determined to be the same again,—an India in whose heart burns a mighty flame of patriotism, of love for the Motherland and of determination that she shall be free! It is this India that must be reckoned with, if a revolt comes now.

If such a revolt—such a revolution—springs up, India will be certain to have the sympathy of all Asia. Will she not have Asia's help? Will not Asia feel that India, in fighting her own battle, is also fighting the battle of all Asia? If such a struggle comes, will it not be likely to arouse all Asia with the danger of arraying that great continent against Europe in a struggle of inconceivable magnitude and horror?

Asia has a population of more than 900 millions, Europe of 450 millions.

Two-thirds of Asia is now under the do-

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

minance of Europe. Think of the crime of it! This condition of things cannot always last. Most of the Asiatic peoples are as virile as Europeans. They only need to be aroused from their long slumber by the new spirit of the modern world, when they will be certain to revolt against their oppressors and set themselves up as free and independent nations.

Already Japan has arisen and taken her place beside the foremost nations of Europe. Great China is coming forward slowly but surely into strength and influence. Great India's turn cannot be long delayed. It is incredible that a country like India, containing a population more than three-quarters as great as that of all Europe, with a civilization antedating that of Europe and with a great and proud history, should remain forever subject to a nation 6,000 miles away.

England by her present policy in India is creating for herself another Ireland, but on an immensely larger scale and involving vastly greater dangers to herself. More than that. By continuing her present Indian policy England is creating in India another Balkan situation, only far more dangerous to Europe and to the whole world than the situation in the Balkans ever was. It will require

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

only the igniting of a match in India, as little Serbia lighted a match in the Balkans, to start a conflagration which will be liable to become quite as terrible as that which was kindled in Europe. It will mean (if I may change my figure of speech) that the second most populous nation in the world has become transformed into a live volcano, planted in the very center of the greatest continent of the world, the eruption of which will be as certain to come as the tides, and the extent and devastation of which no man can measure.

IV

In connection with this perilous condition of things for India, for Great Britain and for the world, what is to be said of Mahatma Gandhi?

I think three things are to be said of him.

First this: Gandhi is India's friend, her great and true friend, because he is endeavoring to obtain for her the greatest boon any nation on earth can possess,—the boon of freedom:—and what is best and most splendid of all, he is endeavoring to obtain it by peaceful means, by rational and moral means, and not by blood and slaughter.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

The second thing to be said of Gandhi is that he is England's friend as truly as he is India's.

He has always been England's friend. He rendered England conspicuous service in South Africa. He rendered her great and important service in India during the European War. Is there any other man on earth who is now trying to render her so vast and vital a service as he, in endeavoring to prevent her from committing the unspeakable crime of deluging all India in blood to prevent the Indian people from obtaining the freedom that justly belongs to them?

I have spoken of India in bondage as a smoldering volcano with a terrible eruption impending if the repression is continued. Gandhi would prevent the eruption by putting out the fires.

I have spoken of India held in subjection by the sword as another and more dangerous Ireland. All the horrors that have been witnessed in Ireland in all the years and generations past, might have been averted if England had dealt with Ireland justly. Gandhi pleads with England to deal with India justly and thus save her from horrors such as Ireland has suffered, and worse; and also to save

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

herself—England—from committing crimes against India such as she so long committed against Ireland, and worse.

If England refuses to take the hand of Gandhi, held out to her for justice and peace, the future of India is dark; and the future of England is dark. Every lover of England in the world should pray that British statesmen may be wise enough to take this great peace-lover's hand for justice and friendship and peace.

If Gandhi desires to save India, scarcely less earnestly does he desire to save Britain—to save her from her worst enemies, her militarists and her imperialists. These men he believes are her foes because they are endeavoring to keep the British Empire part slave and part free, a condition which, in the very nature of things, is a mistake and cannot endure. He would save the British nation by making it all free—by transforming it into a great federation of free peoples,—a condition which in the nature of things is the most stable and secure that the world has ever discovered. Such a federation, bound together by ideals and aims of world liberty, world justice and world brotherhood, would have no truer friend on earth than Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Third, and finally, Gandhi is not only the friend of India and Britain, but he is no less the friend of Europe, Asia and the whole world—a friend of all these, than whom none greater or truer is living or is likely to arise. He is the friend of Europe and Asia because he is showing to those two great continents how they may free themselves from that antagonism which many centuries of greed and conquest and cruel exploitation on the part of Europe has created, and which at no distant day must burst into a flame to devastate both continents, unless prevented by the rise of such a spirit of justice and human brotherhood as Gandhi is preaching with such power in India. And he is the friend of the whole world because he is showing to the whole world the way to avoid that greatest peril that threatens the future of mankind—the array of the white race, on the one hand, and the colored races, on the other, in permanent social, economic and political hostility the one to the other. Such hostility can lead nowhere but to death. Gandhi is pointing out, as did Buddha and Jesus in the ancient days, the way of life.

CHAPTER VII

WHAT GREAT BRITAIN SHOULD DO

IN this closing chapter of the section of my book (*Part Second*) which deals directly with India, I wish to make one thing absolutely clear, if it has not been made clear already. It is (as was said in the beginning) that this is not a book "against England". Not one word of it has been written in a spirit of hostility to Great Britain. Although I am a citizen of America and have lived most of my life here, I was born in England, where I have many relatives and dear friends, and where I have spent much time. Next to my adopted country I love England best of any land on earth. I am also much attached to Canada, where I have lived seven years. I wish all Englishmen well. I wish good and only good to Great Britain. It is because I love England and Englishmen, as well as India and the Indian people, that this book has been written.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

What I have endeavored to do in these pages has been to point out and deprecate those features of British rule in India, those lines of conduct of the British government toward the Indian people, that I believe to be unjust and therefore harmful to Great Britain herself as well as to India and to the world.

Those men are not enemies of any nation who point out its mistakes and its sins with a view to their correction and future avoidance. Burke and Fox and Pitt were not enemies of their country when they thundered against the conduct of their government toward the American Colonies and warned the King and his ministers that unless they changed their policy they would lose these valuable possessions. The enemies of their country at that time were the short-sighted and evil-minded men who encouraged the British government to persist in treating its American Colonies tyrannically and unjustly.

Burke was not an enemy of his country when he arraigned Warren Hastings for his unjust and tyrannical treatment of India. John Bright, John Stuart Mill, Professor Fawcett, Charles Bradlaugh and such eminent men of the Indian Civil Service as A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn

WHAT GREAT BRITAIN SHOULD DO

and a host of others, have not been enemies of their country when they have pointed out with unsparing hand and condemned with unsparing voice, the evils and the wrongs of the British-Indian Government, and pleaded for justice and freedom for the Indian people. These men have been wise enough to understand that injustice is weakness in any nation, and that only the just nation can be permanently strong.

What I want for India is justice : this means freedom to direct her own life and shape her own future. What I want of Britain is to give her this freedom, which is the right of every nation. Why does not Britain, for her own sake as well as India's, hasten to perform this high act of justice ? By doing it she would win the respect and honor of the world. Every year all justice-loving and liberty-loving people are seeing more and more clearly that for her to hold a great civilized nation in subjection is against humanity. After having made the declarations which she has before the whole world, that she believes in freedom for all peoples, and having fought a great war in ostensible support of the same, it will be an eternal disgrace, a stain upon her honor that cannot be removed, if she refuses freedom to

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

the second largest civilized nation on the entire earth.

Of course it is not for me to say whether the future of India should be that of an absolutely independent nation, separate from Great Britain, or that of a free nation linked by willing and fraternal bonds with other free nations in a great world-encircling British-Indian Federation or Commonwealth. The decision as to this should be left of course to India and Great Britain, in full, fraternal conference, the Indian people having absolute freedom in the matter and absolute equality in all deliberations and decisions.

Why does not Great Britain, without delay, invite India to hold with her such a conference? The time is ripe. Everything is propitious. Such a conference must be held sooner or later. It is unthinkable that a final adjustment can ever be made between the two nations in any other way. India has risen to her feet. She will never sink to her knees again. She can never again be dictated to or coerced. If the Gandhi non-co-operation movement wins, there must be such a conference at its end to settle matters. If the Gandhi movement fails and India is driven to revolt, and years of blood and terror, there can

WHAT GREAT BRITAIN SHOULD DO

be but one possible end to it : India will win ; and then must come a conference to arrange terms of peace. All wars have to end in conferences at last. How much better to hold them at first and prevent the wars ! After a bloody revolution in India, Britain will occupy a far less advantageous position in a conference than now. If she has any wisdom she will call a conference without waiting for a revolution.

And of course the initiative must come from her. If the conference is absolutely sincere, open, honorable and fair on Britain's part, it will succeed, and reach an adjustment of relations between the two nations of the highest value to both parties. It will hardly be possible for India to enter the conference without feeling more or less of suspicion and distrust,—she has been deceived so often, so many promises have been made to her that have not been kept, so many hopes have been held up before her that have proved only mirages ! She herself will be fair and honorable. Will Britain come into a conference in the same spirit ? If so, all will be well. But as already suggested, she must not come with any thought of dictating, or manifesting any spirit of condescension. For the first time in

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

her history she must take her stand before the Indian people on a level with them.

Of course the conference cannot be with all the Indian people, but only with their representatives; but they must be real representatives, chosen by India herself, and not by Britain. There has been too much pretense on the part of Britain in the past that she was granting India representation in this and that important imperial gathering (as her War Councils, etc.), when she brought into those gatherings Indians chosen by herself and not by India. That was not representation of India: it was representation of Britain; it was Britain increasing her own representation, by choosing certain Indians as *her* representatives. Perhaps it ought to be counted an honor by those Indians that they were admitted to Britain's councils; but the lie should not have been given out to the world that they represented the Indian people, who had not authorized them in any way to speak or act for India. India can be represented only by representatives chosen by herself: as no nation can be represented by persons other than those whom it chooses and duly authorizes to act in its behalf.

I speak on this point thus fully because

WHAT GREAT BRITAIN SHOULD DO

there is danger here. If such a conference as I am suggesting shall be called, it will be natural for Britain to desire to do what she has always done and designate the persons who are to represent India. But that, if allowed, will destroy everything. Of course India will not allow it. Nor ought Britain to wish it. She should learn wisdom from the past and come in with a wholly different spirit.

If a conference is held which is absolutely honest, sincere, open, just and fair on Britain's part, it will succeed and I am sure all the indications are that India will accept its decisions and carry them out faithfully and honorably. Thus bitterness and antagonisms will cease, bloody revolution and war will be averted, and an adjustment of relations between the two nations will be reached which will be in the highest degree advantageous to both.

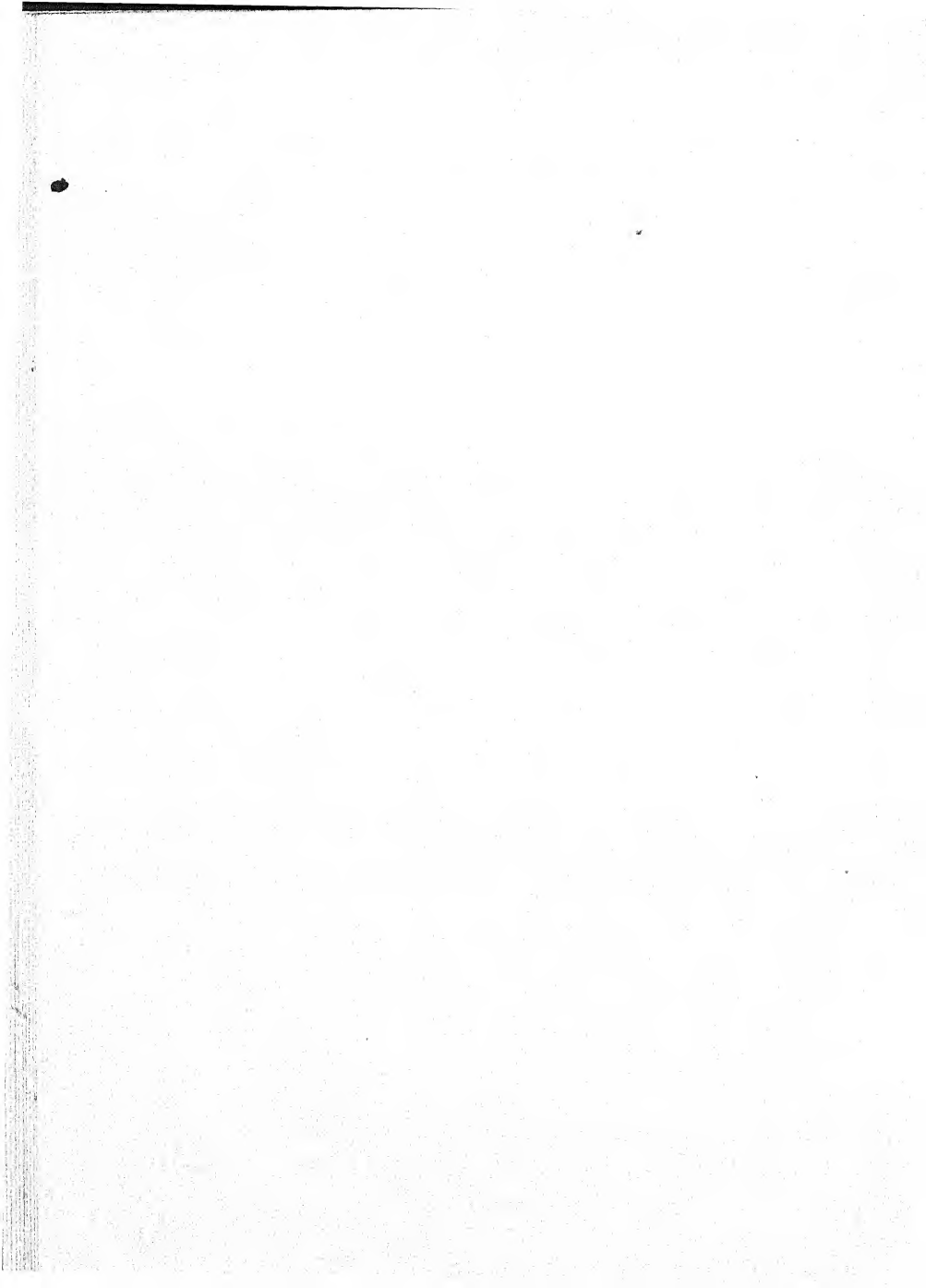
Will Great Britain be wise enough to invite India to hold such a conference, to consist of say twenty of India's wisest and most trusted leaders, to be chosen through her National Congress and All-India Muslim League, or these two in connection with other national organizations, or in such other manner as the Indian people may desire, these twenty duly carefully chosen and duly accredited

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

representatives of India to meet with a corresponding number of wise and trusted representatives of Great Britain, the whole body to study together the many-sided, complicated, difficult Indian situation, with patience, with ample time at their disposal, with all the intelligence they can command, with candor, with respect for one another, with a sincere desire to do justice to India as a nation and to every individual Indian who may be affected by a change of government, and an equally sincere desire to do justice to Great Britain as a nation and to every individual Englishman who may have just interests in India—I say, will Great Britain be wise enough to call such a conference, and thus settle rationally, justly (at least with as great a degree of justice to all parties and interests as can be attained), and peacefully, the most difficult and the most menacing problem that confronts her, and at the same time free herself from a continuation of the greatest wrong that has blackened her name in the recent past? Let us hope.

PART THIRD

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD



WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

OUR world has many needs, many that are great and urgent. But among them all has it any other that is so vital as the need of brotherhood? And the brotherhood must not be limited. It must be universal, it must be world-wide, it must take in the entire human race.

I

Perhaps the one thing that has done more than anything else in human history to make this possible—to prepare the way for human brotherhood on the scale of an entire humanity, has been the recent unifying of the physical world, that is, the bringing of the scattered parts of the earth's surface for the first time, into actual relations with one another, so as to form a whole. Strange as it may seem, only within our own time has the earth been really one. Previously, there were fragments of a

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

world, parts of a world, some near to one another and some remote, some known to one another and some unknown ; but not an entire and unbroken world. There was no unity among the parts : therefore there was no basis for a unity of mankind. Although the spiritual world transcends the physical, yet in a very real sense it rests upon it. Therefore, not until the physical world became a unity was it possible for humanity to become a unity.

How isolated and unconnected have been the different parts of the world is easily seen. The world as we know it to-day contains five main land-areas which we call continents. But until very recent times only three of these—Asia, Europe, and Africa—even knew of the existence of the others : and in these three only relatively small parts which were contiguous, ever had much intercourse. The vastly larger outlying portions were almost as much strangers as if they had been in different universes. Until four centuries ago, so great and important a country as China was a mysterious land, practically unknown beyond limited parts of Asia. Even India, with her conspicuous place in Asiatic civilization, was hardly more than a name to a large part of mankind. Her silks and tapestries and other

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

rich products of her looms, and the exquisite work of her jewellers and lapidaries, had made their way to the chief cities of Western Asia and the countries around the Mediterranean Sea, and her Buddhist monks seem to have carried their gospel of brotherhood nearly as far; yet it was not until a sea-route was discovered connecting Europe with the Orient, that India began to be at all adequately known to the Western world.

Until sixty or seventy years ago, Japan—now so conspicuous among the nations—was merely a group of obscure, far-away islands, of which the majority of mankind had never heard. Until four hundred years ago the great continents of North and South America were hidden away beyond the broad and stormy Atlantic, undreamed of by any nation of the Eastern world. Until later still, Australia—larger in area than all of Europe outside of Russia—was undiscovered by the rest of mankind. The immense interior of Africa was a *terra incognita* until almost our own generation. The same was true of vast regions in the extreme north and the extreme south, in the vicinity of the north and south poles. Not until the modern age of exploration and discovery, consequent upon man's mastery of the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

sea, were the thousands of islands—some of them large and populous—scattered among the oceans of the world. known to Europe or Asia, or even to one another.

But at last a very great change has come, a change beginning in the fifteenth century with such great voyagers and explorers as Columbus and Vasco de Gama, but not completed until our own generation. Now all important parts are discovered ; the fragments are brought into touch ; the scattered pieces, no matter how far apart, are joined ; for the first time the world is really one.

And it is one not only in the sense that all parts are known to one another, but also in the deeper sense that relationships undreamed of before have been established between them, and common interests of a hundred kinds have been discovered or created, which are certain to be permanent. Trade and commerce by land and sea, railways, steamships, telegraphs, cables under oceans and wireless and radio over both oceans and continents, postal systems extending to all countries, travel to remotest regions, world-wide finance, newspapers and literature circulating everywhere—these things, the creations of our modern science and modern knowledge—are shuttles which have woven

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

all parts of the earth together and made them a unity,—one world in the fullest and deepest sense, no portion of which can separate its fortunes from the fortunes of all the rest—no part of which can prosper without all other parts being advanced, or injured without all other parts of suffering. The isolation and self-sufficiency of peoples and of nations is gone, never to return.

St. Paul says of the human body: "The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee, or the head to the feet, I have no need of you. If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; and if one member is honored, all the members are honored." We are beginning to see that exactly the same is true of the world, now that it has become one. Asia cannot say to Europe, "I have no need of you; nor Europe to Asia, "I have no need of you." No nation, without folly, and loss, can be indifferent to the welfare of any other nation. No people can harm another people without, sooner or later, finding a lash falling upon their own back.

The consequences flowing from the unification of the world are necessarily very great and far-reaching. Since we have now one world and one human family, with interests

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

that cannot be separated, we must have harmony, we must have brotherhood. Everything possible must be done to prevent ill-feelings, misunderstandings, contentions, injustices, suspicions, fears, hates, whatever tends to produce antagonisms and wars. The family, the whole family of humanity, must learn to live together in peace and goodwill. This is absolutely vital. This means that the most imperative, the most pressing question now before the entire world is how to promote human brotherhood, how to enable the great newly-created world-family of individuals, nations and races, to live together without destroying one another.

It is said by doubting, fearing, faithless men, that thoughts of human brotherhood are pleasant, exhilarating, delightful, but are not practical, and are mere dreams. The answer, clear as the sun, is that nothing else but brotherhood is practical; everything to the contrary is insanity, anarchy, ruin.

“Dreams are they—our dreams of human brotherhood?

Yes, they are dreams, but dreams
from God.

Shall we despise and scorn them—
That men shall love one another,

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

That all, whate'er their station, color,
Rank or name, shall call each other
brother,
That hate 'twixt land and land shall
cease,
That war, red-handed, shall give place
to peace,
That greed shall grow less in the
market-place,
That lust shall yield to love for the
race,
That men shall meet God face to
face?
Dreams are they all? Yes, *God's*
dreams, and
Because they are God's dreams,
As God lives *they shall come true.*"

Human brotherhood is important in whatever form it appears: it is particularly necessary, however, that it be promoted in four different directions, namely, between *Nations*, between *Races*; between *Individuals* and *Classes* (Social and Industrial Brotherhood) and between *Religions*.

II

First, brotherhood between *Races*. One of the greatest obstacles in the way of inter-racial

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

brotherhood has been the lack of acquaintance, with, and of knowledge of, one another.

“ Herein lies the tragedy of the world:

Not that men are poor—

All men know something of poverty.

Not that men are wicked—

Who is good ?

Not that men are ignorant of a thousand things—

Truth is infinite.

Nay, but that men and peoples *know so little of one another.*”

For the most part, the different races of the world have had habitats widely separated; and men are likely to be prejudiced against those at a distance whom they do not know. People who are strange to us are apt to repel us. Charles Lamb in talking with a friend referred to a certain man as one whom he hated. “ But why do you hate him ?” inquired the friend, “ do you know him ?” “ Oh no,” replied Lamb, “ that is why I hate him; if I knew him, I couldn’t hate him.” The fact that races have usually been so widely separated, and therefore strangers to one another, has been an important cause in the rise of race antipathies. Happily *this* cause of race hatred and antagonism is tending to pass away under modern

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

conditions, since the physical world has become one and people of all races are being brought into closer contact.

Another cause of antagonism between races is difference of color, hair, and physical characteristics, difference of language, of dress and of customs. But why should difference create alienation, or hatred, or repulsion? Would mankind be more attractive if all men were exactly alike? Would we regard a flower-garden as more beautiful, if it contained only one kind of flower? Would a forest made up of a single species of trees be thought superior to one containing many species? In the world of physical nature variety is considered an element of attraction, beauty, wealth. Why should it not be so in the world of humanity? Rightly looked at, the fact that there are different races of men, with different appearances, customs, characteristics, means advantage; means a more interesting and wonderful world. The world would be far poorer and far less desirable as a place to live in if there were in it only one race and one civilization, even if that race and civilization were our own. Intimate acquaintance with different races shows that they all possess qualities which in their different ways are interesting

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

and admirable, and which form a solid basis for mutual regard and fraternal relations. Friendships should not be confined to persons of one's own class, one's own station in life, or one's own race. Some of the warmest and truest friendships ever known have been between men of widely different races. Lives are widened and enriched by international and inter-racial contacts and sympathies. To know another civilization with sympathy and appreciation, is a valuable education. We should learn to care for human beings as human beings, without reference to the accidents that differentiate them from one another or from us. Brotherhood should be as wide as humanity.

Perhaps nothing in the past has done so much to create antagonism between races, perhaps nothing is doing so much to create and foster such antagonism at the present time, as the disposition on the part of the stronger and more advanced races to tyrannize over, oppress and wrong the weaker—to subjugate them and exploit their lands, and in many cases virtually to make slaves of them. Under such conditions, of course, brotherhood is impossible. Brotherhood can be based only on kindness and justice.

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

Whenever races more advanced in civilization come into contact with those less advanced, their aim should not be to subjugate and exploit, but to befriend and lift up. We are ashamed to take advantage of the weakness and ignorance of children to abuse and oppress them—because we are wiser and stronger than they we recognize it to be our duty to protect them. It should be the same with advanced races in their dealings with races of inferior culture. The attitude of the superior should always be that of friend, guardian, teacher; never that of despoiler. Thus it is that the promotion of brotherhood between races must always rest mainly with the higher.

What have we in America done to promote or to hinder the spirit of brotherhood between races? Let us see.

I recall with shame that some years ago we, as a nation, forgot for the time being, our own past history and the very foundation principle of our democracy—that “all just government derives its power from the consent of the governed”—and following the evil example of the nations of Europe, we obtained a colony, or rather a dependency, in the Far East. Finding the people of the Philippine Islands

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

struggling to free themselves from a tyrannical foreign power, instead of aiding them, we committed the crime of seizing their country, carrying on a cruel war to subdue them, and have held them ever since as our subjects, undoubtedly feeling ourselves more at liberty to do this because they were of a race different from our own.

True, we have probably treated these Filipino subjects of ours better than any other nation has ever treated a subject people. We have done much to establish and maintain schools and education among them everywhere, and to promote sanitation in all parts of the Islands. We have allowed a majority of the offices of the country—the higher as well as the lower—to be filled by Filipinos. We have left municipal and local government almost wholly in the hands of the people. We have even gone so far as to grant to the Filipinos themselves nearly full power in national legislation and in control of their national finances. In other words, our “benevolent despotism” has been extraordinarily benevolent,—benevolent to a degree hitherto unknown. Yet what of all this? Nonetheless our rule has been a despotism, unpardonable and unendurable, because it has robbed nine or

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

ten millions of people of something for the loss of which nothing can compensate, something dearer to them than life itself—their freedom, their independence; it has kept them in subjection to a foreign power whose only right to rule them was the right of the sword; it has humiliated and degraded them by depriving them of a place among the nations of the world.

Will we persist in our national sin? I am happy to answer that I do not think so. We have promised the Filipinos their independence, and I believe we shall keep our promise. Our militarists, imperialists and capitalists, to whom human freedom means little (as it means little to those classes the world over) want to retain these rich Islands permanently for purposes of exploitation, and are doing and will do all in their power to render our promise of no effect by causing interminable delays in its fulfilment. Their power is great but they will not succeed. The American people as a whole are honorable and just. To them the nation's promises are not camouflage, and not scraps of paper to be trampled under foot at will. They are sacred things. We shall defeat our capitalists and militarists, and at no distant day we shall grant to the Filipinos the freedom we have too long withheld from them.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

We, Americans have a very serious race problem here at home. It has to do with our negro population. How can ninety or a hundred millions of white people and ten or twelve millions of another race and color live together in the same nation? Unfortunately we have tried the way of antagonism, as seen in our shameful lynchings. But antagonism only creates further antagonism, and our difficulties deepen. Slowly but surely, as I believe, our better minds are beginning to see that because we, the white people, have always been free while the negroes have been slaves, because we have enjoyed advantages of education and self-development of which the negroes have been deprived, and because our civilization has been higher than theirs, therefore the chief responsibility for mending things rests upon us. *Noblesse oblige*. Our business is not to sneer or criticize or blame, but to help. To these people who are with us, not because they wanted to come, but because we brought them for our own advantage, we must now give the advantages that are their right—facilities for education that will lift them out of their ignorance and dependence, and make them intelligent, self-supporting, self-respecting members of civilized communities. In other

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

words, we are beginning to discover that the key to our American negro problem is brotherhood and that there is no other, as there is no other to any of the race problems of the world.

There is serious antagonism, largely racial, between the peoples of Asia and those of Europe. Because European nations belong to the so-called 'White' race, they have long been disposed to look down upon Asiatic peoples, and to regard themselves as at liberty to domineer over them, to exploit them and rob them of their territory. Today, Europe holds political control over three quarters of Asia. This injustice, of course, is felt deeply by the Asiatic peoples. They love freedom and independence as much as do the people of Europe. They like no better to be robbed of their soil and be ruled by aliens. If antagonism between Asiatic and European nations is to be removed, Europe must treat the older continent with more of justice than too often she has done in the past or is doing today.

Great Britain's past treatment of China in twice waging war against her for the purpose of forcing the opium trade upon her people, thus to gain revenue by their degradation and ruin, forms one of the darkest records of modern history. Indeed the treatment which

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

nearly all the leading powers of Europe have accorded to China has been overbearing and unjust in the extreme. How long is this to continue ?

Great Britain's treatment of India, her persistence in holding in subjection a highly intellectual people, with a civilization far older than her own, exploiting and impoverishing their country for her own enrichment, and granting them no effective voice whatever in their own government, is a great and long-continued wrong which the whole civilized world should condemn. Is this to continue ?

It is especially unfortunate that there should be injustice and antagonism between the races of Europe and Asia, because of the fact that they are so closely related. Europeans call themselves 'white' and the peoples of Asia 'brown' and 'yellow'. But how very little do these colors really signify ! Some Asiatics are whiter than some Europeans. When light-skinned Europeans migrate to tropical lands they grow darker in color, and when dark-skinned Asiatics move to colder climates, they grow lighter.

If anywhere in either continent any race is disposed to lift itself up in pride above others as a purer race and therefore as superior, it

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

may well be reminded that neither continent contains any such thing as a pure race. All the races of Asia and Europe are mixed : this is particularly true of Europe. It seems to be the verdict of the highest scientific authorities that there is probably not a single so-called 'European' person living who does not have Asiatic blood in his veins, while large numbers of the inhabitants of Southern Europe possess more or less African blood. Considering these facts, how little ground is there among the peoples of either continent for race pride or race antagonisms and how much for race brotherhood !

Europe is disposed to be proud and domineering over Asia because she (Europe) claims to be at the front in the world's civilization. Her claim is open to dispute—the decision depending upon what we are to regard as highest in civilization, things material or things spiritual. And it may be well for Europe to remember that even if she is at the front to-day, she was not always so, and the time may come again when she will not be. At one time Egypt, in despised Africa, led the civilization of the world. At another, Babylon in Asia was the leader ; at another, India ; at another, China.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

If Europe has produced great nations, so has Asia. If Europe has given birth to great men, Asia has given birth to men quite as great. Indeed, has Europe any sons who may justly be ranked as the equal of Asia's Confucius, Buddha, Moses, Mahomet, and Jesus? Europe should not forget that she did not originate her own civilization, but received it from Asia. More than that, she did not originate her moral laws, or her religion. Both of these inestimable treasures are Asia's gifts to her.

During the past half century, Europe has been conferring upon Asia the valuable boon of her science. For this Asia may well be grateful. But there is little cause for boasting on Europe's part, of surely it is time for her to be making some return to the older continent for the priceless boons of her own civilization and especially for the most valuable parts of her civilization, her moral laws, and her religious faith.

What is needed is for Europe and Asia to lay aside their antagonisms, to join hands in carrying forward civilization—civilization on both its sides, material and spiritual, and to co-operate in every way possible in the work of practically uplifting the world.

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

III

I pass now from races to *Nations*. If inter-racial brotherhood is important, no less is international. As already pointed out, no nation can prosper by seclusion and certainly not by antagonism. It used to be thought otherwise, and there was some ground for the thought when the countries of the world were isolated and unrelated fragments. But now since they have become united into one world, the situation is wholly different. Now isolation is weakness, it is poverty, it is absence from participation in the world's life and the world's prosperity. And as for fighting others, that is simply suicide. From this time on that nation will be the most prosperous, the most influential and the most safe which has the fewest antagonisms, and the closest and most friendly relations of every kind with the other nations of the world.

It is most unfortunate that our modern idea of nationality is so narrow. There ought to be nothing in nationality antagonistic to other nations. I love my home. But that is no reason why I should hate or seek to injure other people's homes. So, the fact that I love my own nation is no reason why I should hate

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

or distrust or encroach upon other nations.
“Larger than any nation is humanity.”

Why is it that two men who are friends, who respect each other and have perfect confidence in each other when living together as neighbors on the same side of an imaginary line called a national boundary, should grow distrustful of one another or become enemies as soon as they come to have homes on opposite sides of that line? What is there in nationality or national boundary lines that should destroy human brotherhood? If kindly feeling is desirable and possible between man and man and between community and community in the same nation, why is it not equally so between different nations? Is it not just as important that two neighboring nations should be friendly, as that two parts of the same nation should be?

We see men making strange uses of the word ‘patriotism.’ He who takes part in a war that his country carries on, is likely to be called a ‘patriot’ regardless of the character of the conflict, however unjust or inhuman, its method or purpose. He who devotes his whole life to his country in ways of peace, rendering her service of the highest possible importance—for an example, as a wise educator of the

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

young, or a great and unselfish scientist, or an honorable and upright business man and developer of the country's industrial resources, or as a just and incorruptible judge—such a man is seldom pointed to as a patriot. And yet which is the truer patriot ?

In the long history of the relations between France and Germany, involving so many bloody struggles, those Frenchmen have always claimed to be most patriotic who have been the bitterest foes of Germany and have done the most to keep alive hostility toward Germany. And those Germans have always claimed to be most patriotic who have been the bitterest foes of France and have most fanned the flame of hatred toward the nation beyond the Rhine. But it was false patriotism. Such patriots, so-called, were really enemies of their countries. The real friends of France and Germany, the men in both nations who have been real patriots, have been those who have labored to allay enmity, and to create between the two nations sentiments of goodwill, mutual respect and fraternity. So everywhere.

During the last half century there have been no such enemies of England as those men who have stirred up in the public mind of Britain constant distrust of the nations of the

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Continent, and thus have pushed on the Government to the building of more and ever more warships, with the money so deeply needed for feeding and clothing and housing and educating the British people. And in America there are no such enemies of the United States as those who try to kindle among our people distrust of England, or distrust of Germany, or distrust of Japan or distrust of Russia as an excuse for creating a great navy to menace other nations and to get us into entanglements with other powers.

Among the nations today, we have world-wide finance. Financial cheques or drafts drawn by men in England or America or China or Australia, are cashed by banks in every part of the globe. Why is this possible? It is possible only because we have world-wide financial confidence. The same degree of political confidence among the nations would give us world-wide arbitration, and that would mean world-wide peace, with such resultant prosperity as the nations have never known. Why should we not have the same degree of political as of financial confidence among the nations? The great majority of the people who make up every civilized nation are trustworthy, honest, peaceloving. They do not want war. They

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

do not want to wrong other peoples. They would like to live in as friendly relations with their neighboring nations as with their neighboring communities or neighboring families. Why should they not be permitted to do so?

The late awful war in Europe grew wholly out of mental conditions—out of fear and suspicion. The European nations did not want to injure one another—I mean, the people of those nations did not. But they had all been taught to distrust and suspect one another, and so they kept themselves armed to the teeth against one another. The result was inevitable. Sooner or later the armies and navies were certain to be put to use, and such an Armageddon as we saw was sure to come. What was needed? International trust instead of international distrust.

Unquestionably the most prolific begetters of international distrust within the last fifty years have been great armies and navies. The greater these have become, the greater has been the mistrust, and the greater the distrust, the greater has been the danger. Instead of great armies and navies preventing war, as we have foolishly dreamed, they foster it; they foster it because they create a spirit of suspicion and fear and therefore of hostility. Vast

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

armaments, instead of being called—as militarists everywhere insist on calling them as “insurance against war”, ought to be labelled “assurances of war.” This the terrible European conflict has made forever clear.

All the leading nations in the great European war seem to have believed that they were forced into it. But if they were, it was their own preparations for war that forced him.

Let us make two suppositions. First, let us suppose that at the time the late German Kaiser came to the throne, in 1887, he and the German nation had been wise enough to issue to the world the following proclamation:—“Germany sincerely wants peace. Germany believes in peace. Germany invites all nations to set out, with her, upon honest, determined, permanent careers of peace. In the interest of peace we, the German Government and people, solemnly declare and promise to all nations that from this time on we will maintain no army except one simply sufficient to perform necessary police service at home, or—in connection with other nations—in unprotected regions abroad. We will maintain no navy except what may be necessary for strictly police ends, on waters for which we are respon-

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

sible. Our policy hereafter will be peace. We will commit no aggressions. We will try to treat all nations justly and fairly and we shall confidently trust and believe that other nations will treat us with corresponding fairness and justice. We shall cultivate among our people a spirit of respect for other peoples. We shall do what in us lies to promote goodwill and brotherhood among all nations. If ever trouble or misunderstanding arises between us and any other Government, which we cannot peacefully settle between that government and ourselves, we will submit the case for settlement to a competent and trustworthy Court or Tribunal of Arbitration which shall be agreed upon by the two governments, and abide by the decision of that tribunal."

What would have been the result of such a stand for peace taken before the world by Germany? Would her safety have been imperilled? Rather would not her security have been greatly increased? Would any nation have dared to attack her? Would any have wished to attack her? And being thus relieved from the staggering burden of modern army and navy support, how she would have forged ahead in industries, in the sciences, in the fine arts, in literature, in education, in

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

wealth, in the comfort and prosperity of her people! She would have become the admired and the envied land of the whole world.

My second supposition is that had Great Britain twenty-five years ago issued a similar proclamation of peace, goodwill, and justice to all nations, with a determination to submit all questions of international misunderstanding to arbitration, what would have been the result in her case?

She would have been as safe as Germany, She and Germany would have been the two most secure, honored and prosperous nations in existence; and long before the present time every other nation would have been compelled to follow them—nay, would have been glad to follow them. This would have been the condition of things in the world during recent years, and this would have been the condition to-day, instead of a war which raged four years slaughtered ten millions of men, pauperized far more than ten millions of women and children, and left behind it a ruined Europe.

Nothing on earth is more certain than that wars can never be prevented by the madness of filling the world with armies and navies. If nations would have peace, they must prepare for peace, not for war; they must

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

do those things which create between them—not suspicion, hate and fear—but trust, goodwill and the spirit of brotherhood.

As there is no course so safe for an individual man, as to do right and trust his fellows, so there is no course so safe for a nation as to be just and trust other nations. And as there is no course so dangerous for a man, as to distrust everybody and go about, arrogant and defiant and armed to the teeth, so no course is so dangerous for a nation as to distrust and antagonize other nations and depend for safety on armies and navies. The time has fully come when armies and navies should not be tolerated for any other purposes except strictly those of national and international police.

IV

I come now to a consideration of Brotherhood between *Classes* and *Individual Persons*.

Social brotherhood in our day appears in many interesting and excellent forms. The chief trouble is its limitation. We have social sets restricted to chosen circles, social clubs for the few. We have social and benevolent fraternities of many names, some of them with very large memberships, all of them excellent so far as they go. But the great need is for

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

brotherhood not limited by social restrictions, brotherhood based on simple manhood and womanhood, brotherhood wide as humanity.

In times past in England, in Russia before the late revolution, and in many other lands, we have seen brotherhood prevented, or very seriously limited by the existence of kings, lords, hereditary aristocracies, privileged classes, who on account of birth and ancestry have arrogated to themselves positions above the people, and have claimed for themselves special rights and immunities (often divine rights) for which they have made no adequate return. Against all this the people everywhere are more and more revolting, and justly so. The spirit of democracy is rising in all lands, and democracy means not special privileges for certain classes, but equality of privileges for all.

In all ages militarism has been a great destroyer of human brotherhood. In the nature of the case, armies are autocracies. The officers command, the soldiers obey. The business of the soldier is not to think for himself, but to subordinate his thought wholly to that of his commander. An army to be efficient, must be a machine, every part moved by the will which is at its head. An army is

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

a caste system. The higher officers look down upon the lower, and the lower upon the private soldiers. There must not be democracy, there must not be the spirit of brotherhood; these destroy authority and weaken discipline. The most perfect army is one where there is least democracy. This is why militarism is so great an evil. Men everywhere who love liberty must learn to distrust and to fear armies and navies. If democracy, true democracy, democracy that means human brotherhood, is to prevail in the modern world, armies and navies must be reduced to the very lowest possible limits.

In India, we see brotherhood broken up in a serious way by caste. Her forty millions or more of "untouchables" are at once her disgrace and her peril. How can she expect national unity; how can she hope to become a democracy or a government in any sense "of the people and by the people" so long as these millions are robbed of their manhood and of the most elementary and fundamental rights of life? Their existence in her midst alienates from her the sympathy and regard of justice-loving men in all lands. The rights of these unfortunates must be restored to them if India is to be free or worthy of freedom.

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Happily the Indian people themselves are realising this and are beginning to act in accordance with the realization. It is one of the signs of the wisdom, the nobleness and the justice of Mahatma Gandhi and the great movement for national freedom which he has so powerfully led, that from the first he raised the banner of equal rights for all, declaring that India must have no untouchables; that all Indians must understand that they are brothers.

Perhaps the most wide-spread, the most rapidly increasing and the most serious danger to brotherhood in the modern world is wealth. This danger is greatest in the West; but it is not absent from the East. Wherever wealth appears, it tends to create a caste; it tends to separate its possessors into an artificial and anything but a noble aristocracy, the existence of which destroys brotherhood very effectually.

How can this peril to modern society be counteracted? For one thing, all that is possible should everywhere be done to create a public sentiment which will make it a disgrace for rich men to use their wealth for merely selfish ends, for mere personal pleasure and self-aggrandisement. We must help them to

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

understand that the public has a just partnership in all their possessions. They did not create any part of their wealth out of nothing. They were able to obtain it only because the community helped them to obtain it in a thousand ways. Compelled to spend their lives in a desert, or on an island of the sea, separated from their fellowmen, they would have been able to accumulate as little wealth as the beggar who asks alms of them. They have been able to become rich only because they have been widely ministered to and richly aided. Therefore their wealth is theirs only in part. The law of the land gives them the privilege of directing its use; but there is a law higher than any act of congress or legislature or Parliament or decree of monarch, which declares that they are only trustees. The community has claims upon the possessions they hold, and upon them. They themselves are not their own. They belong to God. They belong to their country. They belong to their fellow men.

Society in its real interests is a solidarity, and is coming to be more and more so as it grows more complex. This all men need to understand. No man can injure another without injuring himself; no man can benefit another

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

without benefiting himself. Each needs all. We are all "our brothers' keepers." Every man's wealth, as also every man's talent is a trust.

In ancient Athens it was regarded as a disgrace for a rich man to live in personal luxury, or to lavish wealth upon his family. Public sentiment required him to employ it for the public good. There should be such a public sentiment in every country to-day.

But it is not enough to prevent unbrotherly *uses* of wealth; we must guard against unjust and therefore unbrotherly *accumulations*. Whatever we can do in every land to protect the rights of the people as a whole in public lands, mines, forests, water-power, water-ways, highways, all natural monopolies, valuable franchises, unearned increments, is just so much done to prevent the accumulation in the hands of the few, of that wealth which of right, belongs to the many, and therefore just so much to check-mate those forces which tend to destroy human brotherhood.

The whole world is reaching out after political democracy. Much of its effort is crude, half-blind, unintelligent, blundering. But the impulse is true, and sooner or later it will succeed. In like manner the world is beginning to reach out after social and indus-

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

trial democracy. Here, too, there is much blindness and blundering; but the aim is just and there can be no permanent retreat. Old feudalism has long since passed away. Our new capitalistic feudalism must follow. Manhood, character, must be re-valued, must come to be the true purpose of all material development; and the mere massing of material possessions—now called 'wealth', must be rated at its true level, as childish, an atavistic instinct carried over from a very primitive and unintelligent stage of human evolution. Money as a king must be dethroned. Unjust special privilege must be destroyed. Rich idleness must be branded as a disgrace. Labor must everywhere be honored.

It is unfortunate to have labor men and capitalists organised separately for rival and antagonistic purposes. Capital and labor need each other as much as do eye and ear, hand and feet. Neither should seek to dominate the other, but each to supplement the other. Not the capitalist above the laborer, dictating terms to him as in the past, but the capitalist hand in hand with the laborer, the two planning together for the common advantage—this is what the better future will require. Co-operation, industrial partnership, sharing

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

of responsibility, sharing of management and sharing of ownership by capital and labor conjointly—in other words, brotherhood among all concerned—is the imperative need of the industrial world, and there can be no cessation of conflicts until brotherhood is achieved. Here lies the only possible road to permanent industrial peace. Brotherhood, industrial as well as individual and social, is God's law, written in the very nature of man and of human society, and any group of men who try to thwart its development, imperil their own existence as well as the well-being of society as a whole.

V

I come now in conclusion to brotherhood between *Religions*. It would seem natural to suppose that religious brotherhood would arise earliest of all, would set the example for the rest of the world. But as a fact it has been one of the last to make its appearance, and even yet the world has little experience of it.

Religion began in the world low down. Early people believed in very imperfect gods, and generally in large numbers of them. They attributed to their gods their own charac-

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

teristics and passions. If two nations or peoples were hostile toward each other, their gods were regarded as hostile. Under such conditions there could be no brotherhood between religions. And even after men had come to believe in better gods, or in one supreme God, there were many obstacles to overcome. Men have always been prone to believe that they were special favorites of their deities; that their god or gods had given a true religion to them but not to any other people; that supernatural and infallible inspiration had been vouchsafed to their prophets and religious teachers, but not to the prophets and religious teachers of any other land; that their own sacred books were true and divine revelations, but that the sacred books of all other peoples were false; that the 'way of salvation' which their teachers showed was the only true and safe way, and that nations or peoples who trusted to any other would be lost.

This kind of thinking has always been divisive; it has always prevented religious brotherhood, and always will, so long as it continues. Happily, little by little, the larger view is dawning on men's minds, that, notwithstanding the many names, the Power and

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Wisdom that is over all is One; that God does not have special favorites; that all men in some true deep sense are his children; that his providence embraces all lands and peoples; that his inspiration is not confined to any age or race, but is universal; that his revelation is larger than any single book or set of books and embraces all truth; that he has raised up prophets and saints and teachers of righteousness in all lands; that no religion has a right to claim that it alone is true and all others false. As soon as men begin to think in this large way, then religious brotherhood begins to appear, and grow, and bear its beautiful fruit of love and peace among men.

Are all the leading religions of the world today effective in producing religious brotherhood? Certainly they ought to be. But are they? I will not attempt to express any judgment concerning the influence in this respect of any of them other than my own. But regarding Christianity I will say that, as it manifests itself in non-Christian countries at the present time, I very much fear it does not always tend to create brotherhood between itself and the faiths with which it comes into contact.

If Christianity comes to a non-Christian

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

land, like India, for example, and recognizes the historic and venerable faiths there as sister religions; if it takes pains to make itself intelligent concerning them, keeps eyes open to discover their truths and excellences; is ready to overlook their imperfections (remembering its own); and seeks to co-operate with them in all good works and all efforts to uplift the spiritual and moral life of the people—then the presence of Christianity unquestionably tends to create religious brotherhood. But if Christianity, coming to a non-Christian land, seeks to conquer its historic faiths and endeavors to put itself “on top” instead of by their side, how can this produce brotherhood? Is this any better than if Britain or France or Russia or Japan seek to conquer other countries? Is it any more brotherly to seek to destroy Buddhism, or Hinduism, or Mohammedanism, or Confucianism, than to seek to destroy a neighbor nation?

There is no religion that is free from imperfections. But it is also true that no religion which for centuries has nourished the spiritual faith of millions of human beings, can be declared to be devoid of good.

“Children of men! The Unseen Power
whose eye

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

Forever doth accompany mankind,
Hath looked on no religion scornfully
That man did ever find.

Which hath not taught weak wills
how much they can ?

Which hath not fallen on the dry
heart like rain ?

Which hath not cried to sunk, self-
weary man :

‘Thou must be born again’ ?”

These are things which all religions must bear in mind if they would create among themselves and in the world, the spirit of brotherhood. The world needs religions that appreciate one another's excellences, that are quick to find grounds of unity ; that are eager to co-operate. Religions that are blind to one another's merits, that fight and antagonize, by that very fact condemn themselves. The universal need is for religions of good-will ; religions that propagate themselves not by the sword, by antagonism or controversy, but by the beauty and self-evidencing quality of their truth, by the elevation and purity of their ethics, by the breadth and kindness of their spirit, and by the excellence of their good works. As such faiths spread and take possession of men's hearts, wars will become impossi-

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

ble, hatreds and bigotries will pass away, antagonisms will cease, men will learn to walk together hand in hand as brothers, and peace will come to this distracted earth.

The world needs nothing else so much as it needs brotherhood—not of one kind only, but of all kinds, racial brotherhood, national brotherhood, social brotherhood, industrial brotherhood, religious brotherhood, brotherhood between all classes and peoples—the spirit of brotherhood to pervade all human life.

The finest dream that ever rose on the prophetic vision of humanity is the dream of human brotherhood. Human brotherhood means the "Commonwealth of Man." Human brotherhood means the "Kingdom of Heaven" coming to practical realization on the earth.

I have asked: Is world-wide human brotherhood only a dream? I reply again: It is more than a dream, it is a vision from God, showing to men what ought to be realized, what will be realized, because the ideals of men are the promises of God. As surely then, as that God is God—in other words, as surely as that truth is stronger than error; as surely as that right is stronger than wrong; as surely as that love is stronger than hate; as surely as that good is stronger than evil;—so surely

INDIA, AMERICA AND WORLD BROTHERHOOD

must brotherhood, wide as humanity, come.
To doubt this is both cowardice and atheism.
But because God works through human agencies
therefore it is also both cowardice and atheism
if any of us to whom the divine vision has been
revealed, fails to do his part, fails to join hands
with God and his fellowmen to help make the
dream of Human Brotherhood come true.

“ Alas, how much sweet life is lost,
How much is black and bitter with the
frost,

That might be sweet with the sweet
sun,

If men could only know that they are
one.

But it will rise—Love's Hero-World
—at last.

I see the arches of the Pit depart,
The Creeds, the Fears, the Hates,
The carnal, wild-haired Fates
That sunder, bruise and mar.
The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star, is Brotherhood.

Come, clear the way, then ; clear the
way ;

Blind creeds and kings have had their
day.

Our hope is in heroic man,

WORLD-WIDE BROTHERHOOD

Star-led, to build the world again.
To this event the ages ran ;
Make way for Brotherhood; make
way for Man."

INDEX

A

- Adams, Charles Francis, 161.
- Adams, John, 39.
- Aden, 230.
- Afghanistan, 229.
- American colonies, 108.
- American colonies—history, 184.
- American Peace Society 78, 80.
- American Revolution, 216.
- Amritsar massacre, 147.
- Andrews, C. F. on Famines, 120.
- Antislavery and Garrison, 30.
- Antislavery and Mrs. Howe, 74.
- Antislavery party, 11. [74.
- Arabian coast, 230.
- Armies and Navies, 277.
- Arnold, Matthew, 61.
- Asia and India, 239.
- Asoka, 139.
- Athens, 286.

B

- Babylon, 271.
- Baltimore jail, Garrison in, 33.
- Battle Hymn of the Republic 72.
- Bellary famine, 116.
- Bengal, 167.
- Bible, favorite of Lincoln, 4.
- Bill of Rights, 201.
- Boer War, 219.
- Bombay, 112.

- Boston commonwealth, 74.
- Bowring, Sir John, 80.
- Bradlaugh, Charles, 246.
- Breshkovsky, Catherine. 75.
- Brice, Judge, 34.
- Bridgeman, Laura, 68.
- Bright, Jacob, 80.
- Bright, John, 233, 246.
- Britain and China, 269.
- Britain and Persia, 232.
- Britain should confer with India, 249.
- Britain, What Great, should do, 245.
- Britain's colonies and dependencies—difference, 107.
- Britain's grip on India, 211.
- Britain's hostility to Germany 232.
- Britain's rule of India. 2.
- British Rule in India, 103.
- British rule, withdrawal of, from India, 171.
- British Rule in India a failure 162.
- Brooks, Philips, 75.
- Brotherhood, World-wide 255.
- Buddha, 36, 139.
- Bunker's Hill, 40.
- Burke, 108, 246.
- Burke's Impeachment of Warren Hastings, 104.
- Burns, 4.
- Buxton, 50.
- Byron, Lord. 66.

C

- Calcutta, 113.
 Campbell Bannerman, Sir Henry, on Indian army, 127.
 Canada, Government of, 106.
 Canada, languages of, 166.
 Canada and self rule, 185.
 Capitol, The, 96.
 Carlyle, Thomas, 60, 69.
 Carpenter, Mary, 80.
 Caste in India, 283.
 Certification by Governor General, 210.
 Channing, William Henry 79.
 Charter of rights to India, 203.
 China and Britain, 269.
 China and India, 231.
 Circle Italiano, 77.
 Civil Service, 125.
 Civilians, Young, 142.
 Civilisation, 271.
 Civilisation of India, 104.
 Clarke, Dr. James Freeman, 70.
 Classes and individual persons, 281.
 Cleveland, 159.
 Clough, Miss, 80.
 Cobbe, Frances Power, 80.
 "Colonial Government" 149.
 Colonisation in Africa, 50.
 Colonisation scheme, 49.
 Columbus, 258.
 Commerce of Bombay and Calcutta, 113.
 Commission for Indian affairs after ten years, 214.
 Congress, Indian National, and non-co-operation, 224.

- Congress of Women in London, 79.
 Cooper, J. Fennimore, 67.
 Cotton, Sir Henry, 233, 246.
 Cotton, Sir Henry, on British policy in India, 153.
 Council of State, 209.
 Crimean War, 231.
 Cromwell, 108.
 Crosby, Ernest, 41.
 Curzon, Lord, on India, 110.
 Cyprus, 230.

D

- Declaration of Independence, 202.
 Democracy in the United States 57.
 Diarchy, 199.
 Diarchy, Lincoln on, 199.
 Dickens, Charles, 69.
 Divide et impera, 169.
 Douglass, Stephen A. 9.
 Drain of India's wealth, 179.
 Dreams, 260.
 Dutt, R. C. on Drain from India, 129.

E

- Economic History of India, 129.
 Edgeworth, Maria, 69.
 Education of girls and women in America, 64.
 Edward's, King, Coronation 110.
 Egypt conquered, 230.
 Elliott, Sir Charles, 120, 171.
 Elliott, Mrs. Maud Howe, 87, 96.

Emancipation, Garrison's
view of, 54.
Emancipation Proclamation,
vii, 13.
Emerson, 70.
England in India, 109.
England's army, 230.
England's Enmity to Russia,
231.
England's navy, 230.
England's wars and India,
229.
English language and Lin-
coln, 26.
English Peace Society, 79.

F

Famines in India, 115.
Famines in India, causes, 118.
Fawcett, Prof, 246.
Field, David Dudley, 79.
Fields, James, T., 73.
Filipino, 266.
Finance, World-wide, 276.
'Forbids' in Reform scheme,
210.
Foreign rule, Results of, 105.
Fox, 108, 246.
France and Germany, 275.
Franklin, 39.
Freedom for bondsmen, 57.
Freemason's Tavern, Mrs.
Howe at, 80.
Froude, 109.
Fuller, Sir Bamfylde, 143.

G

Gandhi, Mahatma, 47, 77,
196, 241.
Gandhi, on Famines, 120.
Gandhi and non-co-oper-
ation, 220.

Gandhi on Englishmen in
India, 178.
Gandhi's imprisonment, 209.
Garibaldi, 76.
Garrison, William Lloyd, vii
29.
Garrison, contributor, 31, and
later editor.
Garrison and the church, 44.
Garrison and war, 47.
Garrison fined and sentenced
to imprisonment, 32.
Garrison's character, 58.
Garrison's death 59.
Garrison's domestic life, 59.
Garrison's early life, 30.
Garrison's funeral, 59.
Garrison's *Liberator*, 40.
Garrison's life—its lessons, 60.
Garrison's parents, 30.
Garrison's Religion, 36.
Garrison's triumph, 53.
Garrison's visit to England
50.
Genius of India and Greece,
156.
Genius of universal Emanci-
pation, 32.
George, Lloyd, 215, 236.
George III and American
colonies, 216.
Germany and India, 233.
Germany and France, 275.
Germany, Britain's hostility
to 232.
Gibbons, Herbert Adams,
229.
Gibraltar, 230.
Gokhale, G. K., 120.
Government, Just, 1.
"Government of India", 146.

Government of India Act,
158, 191.
Government of the people,
for the people and by the
people, 2.
Governor General's Exe-
cutive Council, 206.
Governors of Provinces, 206.
Governor's veto, 208.
Greeks and Mrs. Howe, 75.

H

Hale, Edward Everett, 70.
Hallam, Henry, 69.
Hamilton, Alexander, 39.
Harcourt, Sir William, 153.
Hastings, Warren, 105, 246.
Henry, Patrick, 39, 218.
Higginson, 70.
Hoar, Senator, 82.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 70.
Home Rule for Bengal, 167.
Howe, Dr. Samuel, 66.
Howe, Dr., in Greece, 67.
Howe, Dr., Work for the
blind, 68.
Howe, Mrs. Julia Ward, viii,
62.
Howe, Mrs., and Anti-
slavery, 74.
Howe Mrs., and Italy, 76.
Howe, Mrs., a mother, 86.
Howe, Mrs., a musician, 91.
Howe, Mrs., a writer, 71.
Howe, Mrs., Her life in-
terests, 71.
Howe, Mrs., honorary de-
grees, conferred on, 95.
Howe, Mrs., Keynote of her
life, 63.

Howe Mrs., and Peace, 78.
Howe Mrs., and religion, 92.
Howe Mrs., and the Greeks,
75.
Howe Mrs., and woman
suffrage, 82.
Howe's Mrs., Centennial, 99.
Howe's, Mrs., funeral, 97.
Howe's Mrs., love of books,
65.
Howe's Mrs., religion, 70.
Howe's Mrs., work for
women, 81.
Humor, of Lincoln, 25.
Human body, 259.
Human brotherhood, 293.
Hume, A.O., 233, 246.

I

Illinois, Lincoln's youth
spent in, 3.
Imperial, Review, 171.
India, a Nation, 168.
India, British Rule in, 103.
India, Cause of England's
Wars, 234.
India, Is, a free nation, 110.
India, Is, fit for self-rule, 139.
India, living heart of Asia,
235.
India, who should rule 136.
India and England's wars,
229.
"India and its Problems",
115.
India and World Peace, 288.
Indian troops in Great War,
181, 192.
Indians in Governor-
General's Executive Coun-
cil, 206.

INDEX

v

- India's civilisation, 104.
- India's freedom, 157.
- India's government, cost of, 125.
- India's languages, 165.
- India's liberty, 130.
- India's loyalty, 193.
- India's manufactures, 123.
- India's military expenditure, 126.
- India's people, 180.
- India's Poverty, 121.
- India's Problem, 106.
- India's Struggle for Swaraj, 103.
- India's taxation, 121.
- India's Tribute, 128.
- India's unity, 168.
- India's Young men, 154.
- Ireland, 242.
- Italy and Howe, 76.
- J
- Japan, 240, 257.
- Jesus, 4.
- Jefferson, Thomas, 39.
- Justice for India, 247.
- K
- Kentucky, Lincoln born in, 3.
- Knapp, Isaac, 41.
- L
- Labor and capital, 287.
- Lajpat Rai, xi
- Lamb, Charles, 262.
- Landseer, 69.
- Languages of Canada, 166.
- Languages of India, 165.
- Laurier, Sir Wilfred, 110.
- Lawyers, Lincoln's advice to, 8.
- Legislation-No voice in, for Indian people, 205.
- Legislative Assembly, 206.
- Legislative Councils, 206.
- Liberator, The, 40.
- Liberty, 2.
- Liberty in India, 130.
- Lilly's India and its Problems, 115.
- Lincoln, Abraham. vii, 1.
- Lincoln, Abraham, on governing other people, 141.
- Lincoln, Belief in. 5.
- Lincoln, clerk in a store, 5.
- Lincoln, representative in Illinois State Legislature, 5.
- Lincoln and temperance, 22.
- Lincoln as a lawyer, 6.
- Lincoln as teller of stories, 25.
- Lincoln Memorial, 20.
- Lincoln elected President in 1860, 10.
- Lincoln's hatred of war, 12.
- Lincoln on Diarchy, 199.
- Lincoln's character and service to the world, 22.
- Lincoln's death, 14.
- Lincoln's humor, 25.
- Lincoln's parents, 4.
- Lincoln's life, an inspiration to India, 3.
- Lincoln's mastery of English. 26.
- Lincoln's political speaking, 8.
- Lincoln's religion, 23.
- Lincoln's second Election to Presidency, 13.
- Longfellow, 60, 70.
- Lowell, 70.

Social Brotherhood, 281.
 Societa Dante Alighieri of Rome, 77.
 Society of American Friends of Russian Freedom, 75.
 Spencer, Herbert, 122, 233.
 Stories and Lincoln, 25.
 Strikes, a form of non-cooperation, 226.
 Struggle for Swaraj, India's 103.
 "Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment", 143.
 Suez canal, 230.
 Sufferings of India, 131.
 Superior nation, 2.
 Swaraj, Struggle for, India's, 103.

T

Tagore, Dr. Rabindranath, 77, 139.
 Tappan, Arthur, 33.
 Tarquinius Superbus, 153.
 Taxation of India, 121.
 Taxes, Refusal to pay, 223.
 Temperance, Lincoln and, 22.
 Thibet, 229.
 Tolstoi, 218.
 Townsend, Meredith, 223.
 Transferred subjects, 199, 210.
 Turkey, 231.
 Teskegee Institute, 19.
 Tyranny, 2.

V

Vasco de Gama, 258.
 Vassar College, first American College for women, 64.
 'Verboten' in Germany, 210.
 Vernacular, Ignorance of officers, 144.

W

War and Garrison, 47.
 War and Lincoln, 12.
 Wars, 280.
 Washington, Booker, 19.
 Washington, George
 Slavery, 39.
 Watson, Cathcart, 122.
 Wealth, 284.
 Webster, Daniel, 50.
 Wedderburn, Sir William, 233, 246.
 Wells, H. G., 139.
 When I was your age, 87.
 Whitman, Walt, 14.
 Whittier, 70, 75.
 Who should rule India, 1.
 Wilberforce, 50.
 Williams, Roger, 66.
 Woman suffrage, Mrs. H. advocates, 82.
 Women's Peace Crusade
 Women's Apostolate
 Peace, 79.
 Women's Congress, 83.
 Women's ministerial council